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Vol. CX, No. 2860

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Saturday, April 24, 1920

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Result of Unfulfilled Promises*

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(From an editorial in a recent issue of **THE FREEMAN**)

"**THE FREEMAN** is not a liberal paper; it has no place in the field of liberal journalism and cannot pretend to seek one. That field, indeed, is so competently served by *The Nation* and by the *New Republic* that it would be a superfluity, not to say an impertinence, for the editors of this paper to think of invading it. **THE FREEMAN** is a radical paper; its place is in the virgin field, or better, the long-neglected and fallow field, of American radicalism.

"Radicalism and liberalism, unfortunately, are often used as interchangeable terms. Some practical distinctions, however, are perhaps worth mentioning.

"In the philosophy of public affairs, the liberal gets at his working theory of the State by the 'high *priori* road'; that is to say, by pure conjecture. Confronted with the phenomenon of the State, and required to say where it came from and why it is here, the liberal constructs his answer by the *a priori* method; thus Carey, for example, derived the State from the action of a gang of marauders, Rousseau from a social contract, Sir Robert Filmer from the will of God, and so on. All these solutions of the problem are ingenious and interesting speculations, but nothing more than speculations. The radical gets at his theory of the State by the historical method; segregating the sole invariable factor which he finds to be common throughout, and testing it both positively and negatively as a determining cause.

"The result carries the radical to the extreme point of difference from the liberal in his practical attitude towards the State. The liberal believes that the State is essentially social and is all for improving it by political methods so that it may function according to what he believes to be its original intention. Hence, he is interested in politics, takes them seriously, goes at them hopefully, and believes in them as an instrument of social welfare and progress. He is politically-minded, with an incurable interest in reform, putting good men in office, independent administrations, and quite frequently in third-party movements. . . . The radical, on the other hand, believes that the State is fundamentally anti-social and is all for improving it off the face of the earth; not by blowing up office-holders, as Mr. Palmer appears to suppose, but by the historical process of strengthening, consolidating, and enlightening economic organization. It is the impetus that Lenin has given to economic organization, and not his army, that makes him a terror to the State. The radical has no substantial interest in politics, and regards all projects of political reform as visionary. . . ."

"On the side of economics, the practical difference between the radical and the liberal is quite as spacious. The liberal appears to recognize but two factors in the production of wealth, namely, labour and capital; and he occupies himself with all kinds of devices to adjust relations between them. The radical recognizes a third factor, namely natural resources; and is absolutely convinced that as long as monopoly-interest in natural resources continues to exist, no adjustment of the relations between labour and capital can possibly be made, and that therefore the excellent devotion of the liberal goes, in the long-run, for nothing. . . . The liberal looks with increasing favor upon the democratization of industry. The radical keeps pointing out that while this is all very well in its way, monopoly-values will as inevitably devour socialized industry as they now devour what the liberals call capitalistic industry. . . ."

(A reprint of the entire editorial will be sent on request.)

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N. 4-24

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CX

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1920

No. 2860

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE NATION PRESS, INC.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR
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ARTHUR WARNER } ARTHUR GLEASON
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, \$5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, \$6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

SECRETARY COLBY gave us the impression that "things are moving toward resumption of trade with Russia," reports a delegate of the American Commercial Association. So they are, so they are. Among the "things" moving toward trade with Russia are the English, the Italians, and the Germans. The Germans are planning to send a trade mission to Russia and an Italian commercial mission was recently reported at Athens "on the way to Russia to negotiate with the Soviet Government for the purchase of raw materials for manufactures." The mission, it was stated, carried several million rubles in cash. Now comes the news that railway connection has been reestablished between Estonia and Soviet Russia, and that the first Russian train has arrived at Narva. Fifty car-loads of "transit goods," presumably supplies from England, were scheduled to leave Narva for Moscow last Monday. The League of Nations, scrupulously refraining from recognition of the Soviet Republic as a *de facto* government, diplomatic style, nevertheless recognized it as *de facto* the government when it officially requested protection for the League's investigating commission (which appears to have been caught in the same intriguing trap as the Prinkipo and Nansen proposals). We in America are not permitted to read our official correspondence regarding Russian policy, but the French Prime Minister uses it to justify his own

refusal to deal with Russia. The Government of the United States wrote on March 11, according to M. Millerand, that "it had not acquired the conviction that the character of the Soviet régime had sufficiently changed or indeed that its good faith was sufficiently established to justify an attempt at resumption even of such irregular relations as existed until August, 1918." Mr. Colby gives the impression that "things are moving," does he? Evidently no faster than he and Mr. Wilson can help!

IF Major-General William S. Graves, commander-in-chief of the American military forces which recently evacuated Siberia, had reported that the Bolsheviks represented no considerable element of the people but had seized power through terror and intrigue, his words would have flamed out in every paper in the country, and men would have nodded their heads and said "Well, he must know." General Graves is quoted as having said something quite different—something which called for no featuring and, so far as we have noticed, no editorial comment. He is reported to have said that "98 per cent of the people in Siberia are Bolsheviks." This statement is so completely at variance with the carefully-colored illusion that has come to be Russia in the American mind that it should cause considerable confusion among those who have been taught to respect official opinion. This will hardly be lessened by the further statement of General Graves that "they [the Bolsheviks] are working for peace and the good of the country, and in my opinion are trying to be fair and just to the people." The observations of General Graves, however, come as no surprise to those who have developed the truth-sifting technique in their reading of Russian news. His statement merely confirms an opinion already widely accepted among the well-informed. As long ago as June, 1918, Frederick E. Moore, late captain in the United States Military Intelligence Service in Siberia, wrote in *Hearst's Magazine* that "95 per cent of the people of Siberia are Bolsheviks." The exact percentage matters little; Siberia is, and has been for some time, overwhelmingly Bolshevik in its sympathies. It is only a question of time until the Soviet régime will be established east to the Pacific. The support of the "Zemstvo" and liberal governments in the Far East by the Bolshevik elements is probably merely temporary, and dictated by a revolutionary opportunism which, on the one hand, hesitates to goad Japan by too great political or military provocation, and, on the other, seeks union with Moscow before undertaking decisive action in any direction.

LIFE in France seems to be just one strike after another. No industry is neglected. The stage hands of the Théâtre Ambigu refuse to stage M. Nozière's play and rehearsals stop until M. Nozière appears before the union and satisfies it that his play is not really badly meant, and that at heart there is in it no insult to the working class. The workers in the great textile mills of the North struck for a month in March, and for a week the twin cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing, in the heart of the worst devastated district

in France, saw a cessation of all industries except those conducted by bakers, firemen, municipal clerks, and undertakers' employees. The miners have had their strike and won it. Lyons, the second city of France, has been groaning under a succession of street-car, metal-workers', silk-workers', and other tie-ups for more than a month. The workers demand increased wages, and the employers demand increased hours; strikes and lock-outs alternate as each group refuses the other's demands. The maritime workers of all the ports of France have struck, the workers asking among other things a general amnesty for all political prisoners, including the sailors who mutinied in the Black Sea in 1919, hoisted the red flag and refused to fire on the Bolsheviks. Meanwhile, the railroad workers are busily cleaning house following the compromise conclusion of the general railroad strike. The workers on the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean line, where the strike began, have decided, by a close vote, not to "blame" their national officers, but merely to "regret" their action in calling off the strike short of complete victory; the Est line, hitherto conservative, has installed new and more radical officers. And May Day is coming.

M. LENAIL, speaking in the French Chamber of Deputies the other day, inquired what had become of the Franco-British treaty dividing Syria and Mesopotamia more or less equally, and wondered how England had slipped into possession of the major nineteen-twentieths. M. Briand was led to interrupt and explain how he came to negotiate the secret treaty, "inspired by the desire to safeguard the traditional interests of France and by the legitimate preoccupation of preserving its influence in the Mediterranean." He added that political settlements are of less importance today than economic. And thus he came to Mosul and the question of Mesopotamian oil. "Ah, oui, Mosul," interrupted M. de Kerguezec. "Eh, oui, Mosul," replied M. Briand. "I had the right and the duty to think of the future. . . . Oil! Need I comment upon that word? In asking for my country its share of influence and interest in Asia Minor, I was moved by no sentiment of imperialism, but called by these people, acting in their interest at least as much as in our own. We were acting in conformity with the great principles which dominated the war." True indeed, M. Briand! But M. Briand regretted that, influenced by false sentimentality, France had not insisted upon the letter of the treaty with sufficient vigor. Then there was Cilicia, and "Cilicia, gentlemen, means cotton, the cotton that we lack, and other riches too." It was, he thought, "the highest and the noblest and least disputable consecration of service and the most sacred of rights" for France to stay there, and while he had had experience of "the intelligence, competence, and tenacity" with which England defended her interests, he was sure that England would honor her signature. The subsequent discussion revealed a certain scepticism on that point.

"**T**HERE is no cure until we find the courage to tell the French that the treaty must be instantly revised," writes the London *Nation* in treating of the German crisis. Would that Lloyd George might be possessed of this courage at the San Remo conference! Press correspondents declare that this event may be one of the most fateful in history; but the chances are that it will merely result in another series of useless compromises, for at this writing it is reported that the German situation will not come up at once and that

Fiume, too, will go over until later. There is only one outstanding fact in Europe today, and that is that the French ought to be restrained in their own interests. They are losing day by day the moral support they had; their imperialistic conduct is injuring themselves. More than that, the three days' debate of last week on the French budget in the Chamber has made it plain to all parties that France can escape financial disaster only by enormous outside aid. No speaker offered an acceptable solution; the Socialists alone proposed a capital levy and huge inheritance and income taxes, and were scorned. The greatest kindness to France our Allies could render would be to compel her to disarm and otherwise retrench. At present that brave country is headed straight for disaster.

WITH a few conspicuous exceptions every good New York legislator and true must be asking himself each night before going to bed: "Did I deal democracy a blow today or did I fail? Was I drunk or was I sober?" Only by such searchings of the soul can the present pace of legislative terrorism be maintained. Repudiating by resolution the only charitable explanation of its vote to expel the Socialists—a too general consumption of strong liquor—the Legislature proceeded to consider three bills which, if they are signed, will abolish freedom of education in New York State. The first and third of these have already passed both houses; the second has passed only one house. By the terms of the first bill passed all private schools with the exception of those under the control of some recognized religious denomination must receive a certificate from the Board of Regents. A second bill forces teachers, before they can obtain a license to teach in the public schools, to secure a certificate from the State Commissioner of Education stating them to be "persons of good moral character who have shown that they will support the Constitution of the State and of the United States and that they are loyal to the institutions and laws thereof." The third bill appropriates \$100,000 for the creation in the Attorney General's office of a secret service bureau to hunt down "criminal anarchy" and "sedition." Senator Lusk helped to scare the bills through by assuring his colleagues that bloody revolution was less remote than some folks thought. Senator Thompson characterized the legislation as the result of a "desire to restrict the education of the laboring classes to teaching them how to labor and serve the little clique that usually has a decisive say in the selection of the members of the Board of Regents, which under these bills is made the regulating force and the arbiter to define what constitutes patriotism and loyalty to the Government." A combination of civic, labor, and fraternal organizations is laying plans for a State-wide campaign to fight the legislative White Terror at Albany. The immediate duty upon every man and woman in the State is to let Governor Smith know that he can represent liberty and the people of the State only by vetoing the Lusk bills.

THE President, so Admiral Grayson reports, came out of the first Cabinet meeting in seven months much refreshed and benefited by the experience. Indeed, he was able to stay fifteen minutes longer than the hour which had been allotted to him. Doubtless there was a little formality to be gone through with at first, such as the introducing of the new members to the old and to the President; but so far as can be learned from the dispatches, a good time

was had by all, particularly during Mr. Palmer's moving pictures of Reds and I. W. W.'s. Indeed, it is even rumored that as soon as the President's health permits, he will consider holding Cabinet meetings from time to time and it is believed that not only the President but the Cabinet itself will profit by the coming together. Of course, it is both dangerous—the Sedition Act still lives—and invidious to suggest that so perfect an Administration—perfect in its coördinated functioning—could be improved. Yet the old-timers in Washington who can remember the far-gone days when the Cabinet met once a week have a curious ingrained belief that it sometimes profits an Administration to have the head of a Department know what his colleague across the street or on the next floor is doing. As to this, we venture no opinion. We only record the fact of the Cabinet meeting to refute those who profess to believe that an ancient institution has been definitely scrapped.

THERE was no element of surprise in the Illinois primary's results, save the fact that Senator Johnson polled more than 46,000 votes. As 40,000 of these were cast in Chicago, that accounted in considerable measure for General Wood's defeat there of Governor Lowden. But in the rest of the State Lowden carried everything before him. He has a strong hold upon the regard of the people because of the excellent work he has done in cutting down State expenses and remodelling the government. They are so happy to have one of the few living successful American administrators that they are not holding it up against him that he is without social vision and offers no more of a constructive program than General Wood. As it stands, the Illinois result is another blow at the Wood candidacy even though his defeat was expected. Although the Johnson votes were largely the work of the Thompson machine in Chicago, this alliance will further strengthen the Senator with the Republican politicians. There is no doubt that Johnson's candidacy shows more life and vigor and reflects a more genuine and spontaneous desire of the public than that of any other candidate with the possible exception of Mr. Hoover.

TULSA is the cleanest city in the State." Thus reads the triumphant conclusion—on the high authority of the State Board of Health—to an advertisement in the *Tulsa Daily World*, inserted by Mayor Charles H. Hubbard to prove that he has governed that city so well as to merit reëlection. "If morality is the issue in the city campaign," the Mayor asks, "how can the opposition reconcile their election claims with the following facts?" Well, here are the facts. In twenty-one months of his administration his police have accomplished this much to make Oklahoma safe for morality:

1,591 arrested for gambling,
1,030 arrested for bootlegging, auto stealing, etc.,
1,430 turned over to venereal disease clinic,
930 arrested for lewd conduct,
2,577 arrested for vagrancy,
10,585 arrested on other charges,
15,636 cases tried in the Municipal Court—
18,143 total number of arrests.

Talk of the majesty and triumph of the law! Tulsa has some 72,000 inhabitants. Mayor Hubbard has arrested one in every four, provided there be not too many repeaters. No wonder the city is clean! We do not know what the

claims of the Mayor's opponents are, but this ought to silence them. Only a lot of old fogies in the East will ask what kind of a civilization Tulsa has, anyhow. As for Mayor Hubbard, we are for his reëlection, for we feel confident that if he is given a chance he will jail all the rest of the town in his second term and stand triumphantly on the lid.

THE Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in its annual report goes once more over good old ground with the familiar tale of how the Foundation decided that its free lunch counter for professors was heaped a little high for academic blood and so put half the provisions under glass and set a price on them. This, it seems, was to keep everything nice and democratic. There is much to be said for the position, but somehow or other the Foundation's does not seem exactly the right tongue to say it. At least, in the same report there are some sentiments with regard to democracy that ought to make almost every professor want to have another look in this gift colt's mouth. "Governed we shall be," says the report, "whether we consent or not. What we may decide is the form of government under which we will live and the men who may administer it." All right. But it is a mere "misconception," the report goes on to say, "that government, whether of a university or of a state, must, in order to be democratic, be made up of representatives of every faction whose interests are involved. The ideal of democracy is a government by officers who are representatives of the whole people, who are fair, and who are competent to govern. . . . But to conceive of government as made up of the partisans of every faction is the antithesis of democracy." To us this sounds very like a college president explaining why the instructors are not represented on the faculty or the faculty on the board of trustees; or like the Union League Club moaning over the dreadful share that labor now demands in the management—and the profits—of certain enterprises. It is a pleasure to be able to quote with entire approval—though with different application—the concluding sentence of the Foundation's lucubrations on this theme: "Such a conception of government is a travesty of the ideals of democracy."

IT may be that consciousness of class makes the "golden scabs" our undergraduates become whenever there is a labor shindy anywhere, but we have the notion it is consciousness of classes. You can coax a duck off dry ground without much preaching; you can even tempt a healthy girl to eat ice cream. There is an easier job than either. That job is proving to a sophomore that his duty calls him away from the class-room to a diet of rawer meat than he gets there. Where do you go for the most natural policemen in the world? To the most natural disturbers of the peace. It is the same with the sophomore. In his case it is partly the nature of the animal. But also the professors must be thought of. We know professors at a good many seminaries whom we would leave at almost any hour for almost any post of danger. The easiest money to spend we ever heard of is the three daily dollars which students of Johns Hopkins are said to be getting from the Pennsylvania Railroad for holding themselves in reserve for better fun later on. We could go out with such bait and bring back sophomores—even seniors—in bunches, like bananas, from every college we ever heard of.

The Truth About the Strike

WITH all deference to the Attorney General, the railroad strike has been capable of no such easy explanation as that it was due to the malevolent activities of Communists and I. W. W.'s or of William Z. Foster. Nor will the issues it has raised be laid by the arrest of 30 or 300 leaders. Arrests are no cure whatever for economic disorders. In this case they will simply increase the bitter feeling against the Administration which is one of the causes of the strike. There are other causes and they are not hidden so deep as to be beyond the discovery of one who seeks, with unbiased mind, to turn them up. But the Attorney General had been away from Washington for weeks in the interest of his parlous Presidential boom. Naturally, he offered to the Cabinet the most facile explanation, accompanying it with wholly unconvincing documents, besides foreshadowing another one of those raids—is it the seventh or eighth?—which are his stock-in-trade, yet fail somehow to purge the body politic as we are each time assured they will.

For the strike, and the consequent disarrangement of transportation, nobody is so largely responsible as the Government. These railroad men have been patience itself. When certain shopmen walked out last year, the men were lured back by the promise of a speedy lowering of the cost of living by this same Mitchell Palmer who was then already at his task of overcoming mighty economic forces by the simple device of locking up profiteers. He has recently himself admitted the total failure of this campaign and has blamed Congress for his non-success. But when the campaign failed he forgot the railroad men, whose leaders were also persuaded to resist the demand for a strike before the railroads were given back to private ownership on March first. Then they were told that their cases would be considered by the Labor Board to be appointed by the President, but that Board was not chosen until the White House—we say the White House because we do not know who is President—was compelled by the strikers to move. The railroad men believe that they have been dallied with and fooled and tricked ever since the armistice and this is another and a most potent cause for the strike.

Next, the rank and file have lost their faith in their leaders, partly because the leaders have accomplished nothing for them—the Brotherhood heads have now practically abandoned the Plumb Plan after declaring that they would take it or nothing and would put every candidate for Congress on record for or against it. The workers assert, as Mr. Grunau puts it, that they are tired of having their national officials living in Washington on the fat of the land and riding about in automobiles and accomplishing nothing. They want new leaders and a square deal, and we venture to assert that whatever the fate of the strike there will be new leaders in the Brotherhoods or a new set of Brotherhoods before very long. A few months ago it was in Warren S. Stone's power to be the dominating figure in the labor world in America, to the benefit of all classes. He could not rise to the opportunity; the leadership remained with the hopelessly outgrown Gompers. Yet, as the Attorney General has so conveniently forgotten, it was Mr. Gompers himself who told that fiasco, the President's first Industrial Conference, that if something were not done to apply vigorous remedies the labor movement would slip out of the hands

of the conservative leaders into those of the more radical. Mr. Gompers may well pride himself upon the correctness of his prophecy. Yet that was not so difficult a feat, for what we are witnessing—the spontaneous revolt of the rank and file—is merely what has been going on in England and France, in Germany and in Holland. An informed man would be aware of this; but in such matters the depth of Mitchell Palmer's ignorance surpasses the depths of the sea. This world-wide revolt, this universal semi-leaderless stirring of the masses of workingmen, and this desire here in America to get away from the old venal, selfish, short-sighted, labor-politician leadership of the unions, of the past, is enough in itself to account for the phenomena we have been witnessing. It was not necessary to lug in the played-out, threadbare Communist scarecrow. It is not wholly a cause for regret that the American workingman is still of independent spirit even under his own leaders.

Finally, behind it all is the pinch of living and the justified desire for more money. These are the causes of the strike, we repeat—anger at the way the Government has paltered with the men, dissatisfaction with their own leadership, the desire to make something happen to their benefit and the lack of an adequate wage. They are not mysterious causes; they do not call for assertions that the strike was the work of Lenin's money or agents. If Mr. Palmer had the confidence of these men he would have heard their applause when the news that the Labor Wage Board was appointed reached them. "Well, we did that!" was the comment. Yet Mr. Palmer insists that Red leadership—we thought he had all the real Reds under arrest or deported by this time—is responsible. What does that mean? Simply that the hundreds of thousands of loyal American workingmen who have been striking—and not even Mr. Palmer will dare to assert that the Brotherhoods are composed of aliens and the foreign-born, for he knows well that they are not, as does every American who travels—can be led astray by Communist manifestos or Russian gold or agents of the Reds. To believe this is truly to believe that violent revolution is upon us; it is utterly ridiculous on its face. Sinister aspects of the strike there are, we freely and regretfully admit. But they are again to be laid at other doors than those Mr. Palmer designates—*primarily at his own*. For the secrecy, the underground character of the strike, is due chiefly to Mr. Palmer's policy in the soft-coal miners' strike. The railroad men were quite aware that the wartime Lever act was still in effect although we have been at peace these eighteen months and they knew that Mr. Palmer would arrest or enjoin all he could. They hid their leaders as much as possible in order to keep them out of the clutches of another Judge Anderson. When the Government resorts to government by injunction through its appointed judiciary, it must expect reprisals. Strikes, we repeat, may be broken temporarily by sheer government force and power; this gets us nowhere unless the evils of which they are the expression are cured and the laboring men are given a square deal. As Mr. Palmer has driven the Communists underground—he has never yet caught the bomb throwers, or the members of the "Anarchist Soviet" in New York who still freely resort to the mails—so his attitude toward the intelligent and honest railroad workers, and his attribution to their movement of disloyalty at the behest of foreign agitators will

only increase the gravity of the class war. Washington punishes; it constructs nothing in the economic world. It offers no program; no policy. It simply inveighs against the "wicked."

That we believe the strikers were smarting under just grievances does not blind us to the ugly phases of their conduct of the strike. Leaving the public in the lurch as suddenly as many did, abandoning trains by the roadside and suddenly endangering the food supply of cities, may have seemed necessary to avoid injunctions, but such actions inevitably alienate the sympathy of the public, and this strike has been without popular support. The use of college students and of volunteers from the ranks of the sadly-inconvenienced commuters of the East has appealed to the sporting spirit of Americans, but it, too, has but made the breach between the classes wider. *The Nation* cannot change its belief that a strike is as much an anachronism as war itself.

That such a state of affairs is possible is a reflection upon our whole social organization. But it is not to be remedied either by compulsory arbitration, or by arresting men for striking, or by jailing those who will not acknowledge the right of a court appointed by a governor to pass upon economic grievances as upon crimes or torts. After all, despite the libels of the Attorney General, these strikers are men and they are our brothers, our fellow-Americans. They are reasoning animals, but they will not bear injustice, nor should they. To call them names, whatever the errors of their tactics, is to get nowhere. This strike, let it not be forgotten, is but a phase of a terrific upheaval in which the Palmers and Fosters and Grunaus are the merest pawns. The goal is the democratization of industry, and, in a large measure, its control by the workers. Short of that goal, evolution will not stop. The question is whether the politicians and partisans on both sides will make it revolution.

The Return of Reason

SLOWLY and a bit haltingly, but nevertheless with multiplying evidences of sureness, the country is recovering its sanity. For more than five years the American people have been living under the disturbing spell of war. Not only have many of the normal social habits of the community been suspended or radically changed during that period, but the community itself has largely ceased to think. It is of the essence of the military life that orders should be obeyed without question, that dissent should be punished or rigorously repressed, and that the rule of force should supplant for the time being the accustomed rule of reason, of discussion, of critical judgment. No one can truthfully say that the people of this country have not yielded loyally to the necessities of a régime which, in most of the things of life that seemed greatest, frankly undertook to do their thinking for them. They accepted propagandist facts and theories without question, loaned their money without stint, trusted the officials who directed their steps this way or that, and approved of results in advance, all in the unthinking military fashion of implicit obedience to authority. For more than five years they have walked much as in a patriotic trance, visibly alive and well to anyone who observed their movements, but with their mental and moral faculties more or less in abeyance.

Now, however, has come the awakening. The first step was the disillusionment regarding Mr. Wilson and the peace. Very slowly, and with a feeling curiously compounded of fear, pain, and disgust, it dawned upon the American people that not only had they been grievously deceived, but that they had also been trifled with; that the ethical principles which Mr. Wilson had proclaimed, and which half the world had seized upon with new and vivid hope, had been abandoned for the more "practical" principles of a statecraft which would have done credit to Machiavelli. Loath as they were to dethrone their idol, the people were compelled to admit that secret diplomacy was being accepted and practised, that autocracy had replaced democracy, that self-determination was little more than a cover for arbitrary and unintelligent readjustment of boundaries, that the League of Nations merely perpetuated the imperialistic control of the Great Powers, and that military and naval establishments were to undergo no important reduction. They saw Shantung handed over to Japan against the protest of China, and Mr.

Wilson defending the arrangement. They saw irrational and unjust burdens heaped upon Germany to satisfy French vengeance, and Mr. Wilson ordering the Senate to take the treaty or leave it. For most Americans who loved their country it was a rude awakening, but they nevertheless saw at last the crimes that were being committed in their name. The hypnotic spell was broken, and a people which for years had yielded its mind to Mr. Wilson once more began to think. Of all the tragedies of Mr. Wilson's public career, none is greater than the popular revolt against him once the American people began again to use their minds.

With the truth about the peace conference and the treaty known, other disillusionments followed. How much easier it is to breathe deeply now in America that it was even six months ago! There are still a few provincial circles in which it is the fashion to brand as pro-Germans any who would treat Germany and its people with humanity, but the fashion is passing, and the declamation wins but faint applause. So completely has the war been forgotten that books or magazine articles relating to it can with difficulty find a publisher. What has become of the American Defense Society, that one-time palladium of our liberties and self-appointed guardian of the public conscience? Who pays attention any more to the ravings of the National Civic Federation or of the Providence *Journal*? Whither have the zealous preachers of the gospel of hate, who only a little while ago were featured on the second or third page of the metropolitan dailies, betaken themselves? Instead of listening to the alarmists who tell us we are certain to have war with Japan or Mexico, or to the adventurers in European politics who assure us that the German army is almost as great a menace as ever, it has actually proved impossible thus far to force through Congress measures providing either for a large standing army or for universal military service; while about the only person of prominence who wanted to invade Germany at once because the Ebert Government was temporarily overthrown was the Rev. Mr. Manning of Trinity Church, New York City. Verily, we are recovering our senses, and with them our nerves.

Even this is not all. Not long ago Attorney General Palmer was telling a committee of Congress about some 60,000 dangerous persons who were said to be at large in the United States, and pleading for a law under which to apprehend

them. This army of criminals or near-criminals is still, apparently, untouched, but the country no longer lies awake o' nights from fear. Moreover, Mr. Palmer himself, now that he has become a Presidential candidate and must needs pay some attention to public opinion, has denounced the Albany proceedings against the Socialists. The Postmaster General still possesses the power of censorship, and claims exemption from judicial review, but Mr. Burleson is today too discredited to be a menace, and the press is speaking out with an editorial freedom greater than it has shown for half a decade. It is a hopeful sign of returning sanity that business men are more and more realizing that they have been systematically denied the truth about Russia, and that they are demanding the right to trade with that country on such terms as seem to them good. A year ago it would have been a heresy akin to treason to ask for a separate treaty with Germany. Today, a separate peace is clearly seen by multitudes to be the only way of extricating the country from the entanglements in which Mr. Wilson enmeshed it.

The lesson should be obvious. In freeing itself from the spell of war, the country is turning its thought to the practical problems of peace. It is in a frame of mind to reject with disgust the old leaders who have misled it, and to give its confidence to new leaders whom it can trust. Any political party which, in this day of intellectual and moral awakening, avoids or glosses over the real issues, or puts forward candidates upon whose intelligence and honesty the people generally cannot rely, courts merited destruction. This is no time for artful dodging or for vague generalizations. It is no time for wrapping old nostrums in new packages and offering them to the public as cures for present ills. A people that has recovered its power of thought wants clear thinking, plain speaking, frank declaration of purpose. The country wants peace at home and abroad, the abolition of all wartime restrictions, the restoration of civil and political liberty in all its fulness, and intelligent attention to its pressing economic needs. Only the party that can give assurance of these things will meet the needs of the awakening American mind.

The Irish Hunger Strike

AT the end of ten days of "hunger strike" by about one hundred Irish prisoners, accompanied by a sympathetic strike of workers outside the prison, the British Government yielded by releasing one-half of the prisoners. Previous to this action the prisoners had refused a release on parole to return in six weeks. The new policy marks the advent of General Sir Nevil Macready as Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland. Rumors, persistent for many months, of the retirement of Viscount French as Viceroy increased with this reversal of the latter's policy, until there came another raid which netted 170 more arrests. Eighty-one of the hunger strikers had not been tried, but had been arrested on suspicion or under "Dora." The purpose of the hunger strike was to establish the rights of the arrested, as political prisoners, in place of the treatment accorded to condemned criminals.

There were tense moments in the affair. One was when 20,000 sympathizers knelt in prayer outside Mountjoy Prison, as death drew near the hunger strikers, while Mr. Bonar Law said that, though all would greatly deplore deaths by suicide, the impression that the decision of the

Government could be altered was likely to increase the danger. Or, as the Assistant Under Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant said, "All prisoners on hunger strike have been forewarned as to the consequences of perseverance in their conduct." The British official head of Ireland once told a writer to discount what the Irish of the South said, as they did not fully mean it. This is the very defect of British rule; the pro-consuls believe that a stiff-necked race of children are talking foolishness, and can be silenced. It is this attitude of skepticism which was shattered by the Irish hunger strike. As a young Dublin Irishman of the Easter uprising said: "The time had come to die. Ireland was growing stale, and needed to be awakened."

This is not a new nor startling exhibition of martyrdom in Irish history. The old years were starred with such grimness and sacrifice, and recent months have revealed the ancient spirit. The witnesses come forward in wave after wave. They will come forward till Ireland is free. Twenty-eight years ago Bernard Shaw told how redress of injustice might be had by doing "the Dod Street trick." The Dod Street trick consists in twelve men going to prison, one after the other, Sunday by Sunday in Trafalgar Square, on such issues.

The most famous instances of the hunger strike have been those of Russian political prisoners and of British suffragettes. When George Lansbury went on hunger strike, the East End of London began to stir dangerously, and he was released. There have been many martyrs who did not avail. Lacking the time and the place, good men have failed. As St. Paul tells us, men have been stoned, sawn asunder, slain with the sword; but "they received not the promise." Their friends were not organized to make a sounding board for their sufferings, and the nation was not ready to respond with a hurt consciousness, leading to action. Essential to success are progressive suffering, slowly resulting in collapse, and ultimately culminating in death (if the object is not won); a resolute group of sympathizers outside the prison, giving publicity to each step in the progress of pain; and, finally, a general public open to conviction on the value of the object sought. The effect of this is as if a slow execution were conducted in sight of the people, with stirrings of bad conscience as the plight of the victims grows worse. Where the three conditions of victims, friends, and public opinion have been met, no Occidental Government has as yet dared the experiment of causing a series of slow deaths.

The Business Barometer

THE operations of the United States Steel Corporation are frequently regarded as a business barometer for the whole country. It is perhaps an open question how far such barometer readings are of value in forecasting the future. But, as in the case of the barometer of atmospheric pressure, the record shows clearly what conditions have prevailed in the past. The report for 1919 shows a period of five months at the beginning of the year when business was, as it were, sitting down to catch its breath, rest, and get ready for a new start. A new start was made and the report records "an increasing demand and broadening market for steel products" during the second half of the year. The fresh start was, however, handicapped by shortage in labor, strikes, and insufficiency in transportation facilities.

Taking the year by and large production was only up to 75 per cent of full capacity. As compared with 1918 there was a falling off in production and a slightly smaller decrease in domestic shipments, but an encouraging increase in foreign shipments. All this is based on tonnage, which, under present monetary conditions, is probably a better guide than money values.

Since the cost of steel and iron enters into many other things, the price-making policy of the corporation is of special interest. The report says that the prices fixed in March, 1919, by the Industrial Board were "fair and reasonable under prevailing conditions," although substantially lower than those quoted "by steel manufacturers generally." They were also less than "the demands of customers for materials would have permitted." This, it is said, accords with the Corporation's policy in the past "in respect of prices under conditions where the necessities of the consumers induce them to bid up the market." The result was an increase in unfilled orders for rolled steel products from 7,379,000 tons at the close of 1918 to 8,265,000 tons at the close of 1919.

The net earnings during the war period tell a remarkable story. We give them in millions: 1915, 75; 1916, 271; 1917, 223; 1918, 137; 1919, 76. These are the amounts available for dividends. The 1917, 1918, and 1919 earnings were lessened by the heavy income and excess profits taxes which were (again in millions): 1917, 233; 1918, 274; 1919, 52. The sharp drop in taxes in 1919 is due to a number of causes, among them reduction in business and increase in expenses, lowering of the rates of the taxes, and allowances for depletion and amortization of war facilities.

Among the increased costs of operation are increased wages and salaries. These rose during 1919 nearly 15 per cent despite the fact that no increases in wage rates were made. That is, the average earnings advanced from \$5.38 per day per capita to \$6.17 per day per capita. Beginning February 1, 1920, an increase in wages of ten per cent came into operation. This is the ninth general increase in wage rates since 1914. It is stated that the increase amounts to 144 per cent in wage rates, and that the average of the earnings of all employees has advanced 130 per cent. By a rough computation it appears that the average employee was earning \$900 a year in 1914 and \$1,900 a year in 1919. This advance is approximately equal to the advance in the cost of living, so that, if this is correct, labor in the Corporation's employ is compensated for the fall in the purchasing value of the dollar, although no nearer approach has been made to a living wage.

This leads to the question: how is capital faring? If labor is getting more dollars because they buy less than before the war, is capital also being compensated? Of course the bondholders and the preferred shareholders cannot be given any more dollars than their contracts call for, no matter how low the dollar may go. In 1919 the holders of the common stock received their "regular" five per cent dividends and no more, although the year before they got nine per cent extra. Still there is a \$49,000,000 increase in the aggregate investment figures, which, considering the general conservatism of property valuations, may be set down as part of the year's increase to the common stockholders. It appears, on the whole, that the decrease in the dollar, or what is the same thing, the rise in prices and in wages, is being pretty fully adjusted so far as labor goes, but not so far as old capital is concerned.

The Peregrinations of Pussyfoot

PROBABLY Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson has not done much in Europe either of good or harm (according to how you view Prohibition), but his campaign has been diverting to a world saddened by four years of successful war and eighteen months of unsuccessful peace. Considering what Europe had already survived, it looked like a safe bet that it would withstand the advance of one man who travelled light, carrying only a pocketful of tracts and a cold-water bottle. One could permit himself, therefore, to view the peregrinations of Pussyfoot less seriously than a Hindenburg drive—to classify them in the amusement column along with Barnum and Bailey's Greatest Show on Earth. But the spectacle has been interrupted, and Spring brings back not only the pussy willows but the pussyfeet.

The visit of the Anti-Saloon League leader to Europe began, as all well-conducted tours should, in England. Pussyfoot vs. the Pub was a true sporting event which all Anglo-Saxondom could and did enjoy, regardless where one's sympathies lay. But when Pussyfoot crossed the Channel to France, abandoning Burton and bitter for Bordeaux rouge and Saumur mousseux, one felt that it was no longer an equal struggle. The Frenchman is a patient listener and a polite host, but whoever tries to interfere with his meal hours or upset his drinking habits is likely to be withered with sarcasm or engulfed by abuse. When you consider, too, that the one most noticeable evidence of our culture abroad is the "American bar," you realize the confusion that Europe must have felt at Pussyfoot's proposal to sell nothing at the Paris cafés but white ribbons. It was puzzling to understand how the American talisman, once a rabbit's foot, had suddenly become a Pussyfoot. Nothing so brash had appeared since the days of Don Quixote as this knight out of the west who would attack single-handed the tradition-buttressed fortresses of Vin Ordinaire and Petit Verre. Better to have tried his lance at Verdun or Pas de Calais. *On ne passe pas!*

So we were not surprised, after the first alarm of Pussyfoot's arrival in Paris, to see him drop out of the news. We even suspected that some defeatist might have lured him off to the heights of Saint-Cloud or to the Coucou on the Butte Montmartre, and there mellowed man and morals with a bottle of Pommard or Château-Yquem. The French, too, learned propaganda during the war. The next news of Pussyfoot was that he had been invited to conduct a prohibition campaign in Turkey. Now good Mohammedans are teetotalers already (evil-minded persons say that is why the Turk is so unspeakable), and one may assume, therefore, that the campaign is against such liquor traffic as has sprung up to meet a *bona fide* Christian demand. We think the morals of Turkey should be left alone, if for no other reason than to have some black sheep in the world to keep us Americans looking white. What use to be shipped somewhere east of Suez if Pussyfoot gets there first? What lure will be left in the East if the Prohibitionists corrupt its evil manners?

We are glad there is to be no attempt to jostle the East. "Who goes softly, goes far," says the Italian proverb. Theodore Roosevelt, more impatient, said "Go softly, but carry a big stick." To which Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson holds up a forbidding finger, and offers a further amendment: "Go softly—and carry not even 2.75 per cent of stick."

The Railway Men Get Action

By GEORGE SOULE

THE railroad men had heard of the Lever act. They had read all about A. Mitchell Palmer and Judge Anderson and the injunction against the United Mine Workers. They knew the intricacies of the Esch-Cummins act, which forbids strikes without seeming to do so. They had read the terrible things printed by the "capitalist" press about the steel strikers, the coal strikers, and most other strikers. In short, the railroad men, being one hundred per cent Americans, with a full knowledge of the English language and an uncomfortably close contact with American politics, were wise. They were "wise" in the popular sense of the word.

I went to a hall in the vicinity of a railroad yard, where meetings were being held. There was a group of men on the stairs.

"Is this where the strikers meet?" I asked.

"Are you a newspaper man?" The group moved closer, as if to spring. I was the focal point of boring eyes. Fortunately, one man had read *The Nation*, and vouched for it. That permitted further conversation. "Say, buddy," he said, "there aren't any strikers. I'm tired, and I'm taking a vacation. I've worked steady for eleven years, and I guess I deserve one."

"Is this where you meet, then?"

"This is where the Social Club meets, yes. Come around at ten o'clock tomorrow morning."

"Is it an open meeting; or if not, whom shall I ask for?" I did not really want any names, but I wanted to see if they were giving any.

"Ask for the chairman."

That afternoon I tried my luck at Grand View Hall in Jersey City, from which the energy of the movement seemed to emanate. Here reporters were directed to remain on the opposite side of the street. Only one publication, the Socialist New York *Call*, gained admittance, because the vacationists saw it was the only daily which favored their cause and was printing the truth about them. I tried the doorman. He was a tall, lean individual, with thin firm lips.

"You'll have to wait." He waved me aside.

"Do you know this paper?" A short "No."

I handed him a copy. "We're giving you a square deal," I said. He jammed it in his pocket. "I haven't time to read it," he commented. "You'll have to wait outside. No newspapermen allowed here."

"How long shall I have to wait?"

"I don't know. I don't know anything. You might as well talk to a fence-post."

That ended it. Later I tried to send messages in to the meeting, and failed. No messages were being taken. Other events cheered me. The men on vacation disliked the fact that the *Call* used the word "strike," and so even the one lucky reporter was debarred. A vacationist standing near the group of reporters argued with them as to why no news was made public. "You distort everything," he said. "Well, perhaps you don't, but the men above you do. If we say anything, either it isn't printed or you use it against us. There's no use monkeying with a lot of crooks like the capitalist newspapers. Look at this—" and he pointed to the leading story in a prominent New York evening newspaper.

Every man in the group admitted it was false. "But here's my story," said the protesting reporter, pointing to the bottom of the column. "Yes, of course; way down where nobody will get it, but look at the bunk they cover it up with!" The trainman was called away from the reporters by a colleague and taken to the hall. Soon he reappeared. "Gee, they give me hell for talkin' to you," he whispered as he passed. It was true; the discipline of the railroad men prevented them even from remaining in the vicinity of a "skunk"—the popular term for a reporter.

But it was not only reporters who were regarded with suspicion. A district president of one of the unions involved, who sympathized with the rank and file, went to Grand View Hall and was "grilled for half an hour," as he expressed it, before a friend happened by and vouched for him. At length came a correspondent who had without difficulty interviewed Lenin and most of the revolutionary heads of Europe, together with a woman writer for a labor paper who, like me, had been shown around during the steel strike by no less an arch-plotter than W. Z. Foster himself. The doorman was to them also a fence-post.

I was standing with this woman when a vacationist who knew me approached. He promised his good offices in my behalf. "I don't know about the lady, though," he added. "We let one in the other day to make a speech. She was getting along all right till she mentioned Socialism. We don't want no politics mixed up with deep stuff like this. I don't think they want any more ladies around."

At the appointed time I went back to the first hall, but the friend of *The Nation* was not accessible. I went on to another hall, and found another reader. Through his intervention, I was allowed to address the meeting and offer my services in getting any message to the public. My friend made a speech in which he said: "Not many of you brothers read papers like this. But this paper goes to a lot of teachers and college professors and intellectuals who are just as dissatisfied with conditions as we are. We ought to have them on our side. They have got to join our movement in the long run. We needn't be afraid to talk to them." After further consideration, the meeting, with many apologies, decided it had nothing to say, and referred me to the central committee in Grand View Hall. "They are so sore at the press they went pretty far to let you in," said my friend. "You can't blame them; there are so many stool pigeons and railroad agents around. They don't doubt you are all right, but they have to be careful." While I was in the meeting, some one had telephoned to *The Nation* office to find out whether I was genuine. Yes, the railroad men are wise.

It was possible, nevertheless, to discover most of the relevant facts. There were some who would talk, when the real purpose of the inquirer was trusted. The wage issue, though extremely complex in detail, is simple in essence. "You can't live on \$5 a day." On the basis of the figures of Professor W. F. Ogburn, statistician for the War Labor Board, the Bureau of Applied Economics has calculated that the minimum comfort level for a family of five could not be maintained in August, 1919, at less than \$2,024 a year. Only a few of the better paid engineers, conductors and trainmen

have received as much, and only since the last wage adjustment on April 11, 1919. Many of these must work Sundays and holidays. Freight brakemen, yard foremen, yard helpers, switch tenders, freight conductors, most firemen, many engineers, all mechanics, track laborers, signalmen, and clerks receive considerably under \$6 a day. Trackmen receive only 28 cents an hour. Clerks are also badly underpaid. Moreover, the adjustment a year ago chiefly affected the more highly paid men, being an "equalization" after the adjustment of May 25, 1918, when the lower-paid received their last increases. For two years many of these men have remained below the "minimum subsistence level" of \$1,575. In spite of the Adamson law, the eight-hour day is unknown in much of the service. Sixteen hours is really the legal limit.

The long succession of dickerings, postponements, and promises, which the attempt to remedy these conditions has brought forth, is seared into the minds of the railroad men and has disgusted them with "politics." "This thing was brewing in 1917," said a fireman. "Then McAdoo came along with his raises and his taffy and patriotic stuff, and that quieted us for awhile. When we put in our new demands, it took a long time to fix them up, and then only the older men got much out of it. We went at them again, but President Wilson gave us some more camouflage, and sent Palmer after the profiteers. All he got was some Reds. We gave the President twice the time he asked, but the only gratitude he showed was to put the Esch-Cummins bill over on us. Say, you'd ought to hear the men talk about that steal. The railroads get 5½ per cent guaranteed on all their watered stock, no matter what happens. Why, they aren't even paying for this thing—the public has to stand the gaff. And what did we get? Nothing but a swift kick. They didn't even appoint the new Wage Board. We're sick of the whole outfit. We want *action*."

To men in this frame of mind, as an organizer who was combating the walk-out pointed out, such measures as the expulsion of the New York socialists or the industrial court bills are highly irritating. "Anybody on the street will tell you," he said, "that one party is as bad as the other, and there's no use in voting at all. People aren't like they were fifty years ago. There's a new order, and they expect to be treated right. Perhaps we don't express ourselves just right, but we know what's going on; we can't be fooled any more. Even the women talk about it at the supper table. This thing is like a boil on the back of your neck. It stings and hurts for a long time, and then it bursts. That's what's happening now." "The leaders have been playing politics too much," said a vacationist. "I don't take any stock in this non-partisan campaign. It'll be the same old story, raising false hopes."

"What do the men think of the Plumb plan?" I asked.

"Oh, the Plumb plan is all right. It's all right, if we can get it *honest*. But I don't think we can, by politics. We might, if we had *our own* men in." "There's something wrong," said another. "The people can't seem to get what they want. Congress don't represent us. That 500 men has too much power. We ought to find some way so we could do it more direct."

The trouble inside the unions is on their minds, too. Yardmen belong both to the Brotherhood of Trainmen and to the Switchmen's Union. The two unions fight for jurisdiction over them, much to the discomfiture of the rank and file. The yardmen in the Brotherhood of Trainmen are not

given so much consideration as the roadmen in the same organization. There is a political machine, a "steam-roller," to uphold the high officials and stifle discontent. There are other jurisdictional disputes among the crafts. The various unions try to act together, but when they do, the oldest and most conservative and better paid hold back the others. They are better satisfied; they have more interest in their large insurance funds; they do not want a strike to imperil their position. "It takes at least six years," said a young fireman, "to work up to the top of the list where you can be an engineer. Then you get a switch engine, at a drop in pay, and it takes nine more years to work up to a job where you can get good pay. By that time, you've got moss on your back a foot thick. You want to keep what you've got."

Many firemen, when they become engineers, do not join the engineers' brotherhood because they dislike to pay the high initiation fees, necessitated by the insurance and other benefits. These differences in dues, in fees, in insurance funds, and the differences in policies, make joint action of the unions difficult and amalgamation almost impossible. Yet the industrial situation necessitates joint action, if any action is taken. The result is inertia, and the frustration of the poorly paid majority.

Power in each union is highly centralized. There is no official coöperation among the Brotherhoods except at the top; the local officials, if they get together, must do it informally. Strikes must be authorized by the higher officials—the "Grand Lodge." These officers are elected by the conventions, not by the rank and file. They are paid considerable salaries. They sit at mahogany desks in impressive offices. "We'd like to see the Grand Lodge officers," said a man on vacation, "if they'd only come round once in a while." But they are tied up in negotiations. They forget what it's like to fire an engine or throw switches for twelve or fourteen hours a day. To the rank and file, they seem to represent a moderating, and in some cases a corrupting, influence. They appear to fight the battles, not of the unions but of the employers. "Our delegates go down to Washington like roaring lions, and come back like a gentle breeze."

The railroad men knew their chiefs did not want to call a strike, and that if they did call one, they would be jailed. At the time of the passage of the Esch-Cummins bill, on February 23, all the railroad unions had delegates' meetings in Washington. The rank and file desired an immediate strike. The delegates tried to force it. They asked for a mass meeting of the representatives of all the crafts. The crafts, however, met separately, as usual, the Engineers and Conductors first. These two unions decided to give the law a trial, after pressure from the officials, and many "patriotic" speeches. The others then had to follow.

In Chicago some of the yard employees last year had formed an independent Association, resigning both from the Trainmen and Switchmen. They were tired of the jurisdictional disputes between these unions, and thought the yardmen could be brought together in a modern, democratic organization, apart from both of them: "one big union" to include everyone working in the yards. It was this union, not a party to the Washington negotiations, which first walked out. That gave the signal for which thousands of railroad men all over the country had unconsciously been waiting, and the strike spread rapidly in all directions. In New York other lines were converging. The Erie Railroad "sold" its tugs for a pittance to a new corporation, with the purpose, the employees thought, of evad-

ing the eight-hour law. These employees therefore struck. They were members of the Marine Affiliation. The Affiliation knew the Erie would ship its freight by other harbor boats, so it called a harbor strike. Meanwhile, the members of the railroad clerks of the New England Steamship Company had gone out to preserve collective bargaining, and the coastwise longshoremen had struck for wages equal to the deep-sea longshoremen. It did not take long for the fever to spread to the Erie and other freight yards in New Jersey, and from there to the other railroad employees and the other roads. The logic of the situation developed a general transport strike in the port.

The railroad vacationists about New York, since they had no official leadership, had to organize themselves. They did it in the most natural way. From each of six crafts—engineers, firemen, yardmasters, conductors, road brakemen and yard services—they elected, for each road, three delegates. Later, clerks and others were added. That made an executive committee of 120. The executive committee elected a sub-committee of twelve—two from each craft—with a chairman and secretary. The head of this Soviet has the

native Russian name of Edward McHugh. The organization is called the United Brotherhoods of Railway Workers. It is not a new, seceding union, but a local railway federation to fill a gaping hole.

The men do not intend to resign from the Brotherhoods. They do intend, however, to call special conventions, revise their constitutions, insert the referendum and recall, retire the old officials, and then proceed to get rid of the encumbrances to real industrial unity and effective action. There is talk also of a Transport Workers' Federation.

Disillusionment with political action, sudden unheralded general strikes, industrial and inter-industrial coöperation, secret organization along Soviet lines, suspicion and hostility toward the organs of the bourgeoisie, "proletarian discipline"—these things characterize the movement of the workers the world over. They sound Red to the Attorney General. But the railroad and transport workers of New York do not know they are Red. These tactics were not suggested by Red propaganda. They are the logical result of the situation in which the workers have found themselves. They form an intensely enlightening social experience.

Esthonia's Mortgaged Future

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

Reval, Esthonia, March 4

I THINK I have arrived at the period when I may permit myself the pleasure of generalization with regard to the new states of central and eastern Europe. In many respects the same generalizations which could be applied to Rumania, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, might be applied with slight variations to the new Baltic states that I have seen. Perhaps Esthonia, because of its proximity to huge Russia, has been pulled out of its more normal orbit into a curve of economic and political development somewhat the new and strange.

The reduced value of the currency in foreign exchange, the land problem, the transportation question, the fuel crisis, the difficulty of demobilization, the attempt to regulate imports and exports as well as exchange by law, the housing shortage, the gradual reassumption by the middle classes of the reins of power—the middle classes which had dropped them in frightened horror at sight and sound of the Russian revolution—all these assume somewhat the same complexion in all the new or enlarged states.

Lithuania I have not seen. I am told that there the nationalist struggle against the ancient enemy Poland has greatly delayed a normal development. In Lettonia things seem to be too normal. That is to say, without any real return as yet to prosperity, reaction has taken root. The land has not been given to the peasant. In this the Letts have copied the Poles, whose nearness and alliance I think exercises a very great influence. The Letts have the same bitter pill that all the others have been forced to swallow—the mortgage on the national homestead to England, and, in some cases to America, in return for financial assistance. According to the newspapers, Rumania, after all Bratianu's vows of Rumania for the Rumanians, has licked the spoon held out by the Standard Oil; Poland says to the Allies, "I will sign the papers after all"; and Lettonia hands over its all, its forests, chiefly, to an English bank. Hereafter the London *Times* and the others will be able to

run to even larger editions. Esthonia seems, also, to be on the same Anglo-financial road. In a few days an English commission will be tying down everything with British twine.

But I wished to speak of Lettonia only by way of comparison with Esthonia. It is curious that the Letts do not notice how they are being fascinated into the maw of the gently hovering Polish eagle. Dvinsk may remain a Lettish city. But when I was there it had every appearance of being Polish: Polish soldiers, Polish commander, and Polish flags.

The one thing that strikes every newcomer in Esthonia is the radicalism of the country. Esthonians hate to have this fact pointed out, because they are already accused of being Bolsheviks by the Bolshevik western press. This is the price they have to pay for making peace with the Soviets. The same cry kept the hundreds of thousands of starving Ukrainians in Petlura's Ukraine from getting help from our Red Cross last September, at the very moment when Petlura was fighting his hardest against the Bolsheviks. Petlura's Government had a fairly socialist trend, without being communist in the Russian sense. But this mildly socialist tendency proved sufficient to bring down terrible condemnation.

Take the land law. As finally passed, it provides that all the old feudal *Rittergüter* of the Baltic barons shall be expropriated. This will include probably half the land in the country, a good part of the rest being in *Landstellen* and church properties. As yet only 330 estates have been taken over, those alleged to be badly managed.

The question of compensation still hangs in the balance. Here as everywhere the soup is not lapped up as hot as it is cooked. The first proposal was for an out and out taking without payment. But the sacredness of ownership had a silent but absolutely incontrovertible power. I think, eventually, the land will be paid for, as in Rumania and elsewhere. Some 1,065 *Rittergüter* will be taken over.

They will be divided among the landless. First will come the military and then, in various categories, the civilians. Fifteen thousand soldiers or ex-soldiers who fought for the Fatherland and forty-five thousand civilians have already applied for land.

Whether the old rate of production will be maintained under peasant ownership seems questionable, in spite of assurances that the land was badly worked before. Certainly Estonia will prove an exception if her peasant produces more than he and his family personally need. In many respects, however, his case is exceptional. In the first place, he has been greatly impoverished by the war; by requisitions of armies of occupation. An exception to this statement is his wealth in cattle. The large proprietors lost thirty per cent of their cattle, because they did not do as the peasant did and stay at home and watch their property when the occupying armies of the enemy moved in. But most of the agricultural machinery and land implements have been taken or ruined or worn out. So the peasant must get new capital to buy these commodities, and therefore must work somewhat harder than the Serb or Rumanian peasant who never used any up-to-date implements.

Finally, your Estonian seems to have one luxurious habit which he wants to indulge. Practically every farmer's family sends one boy to college. To pay for this luxury the peasant has to grow more than he needs.

As a practical aid to production, the demobilization of three classes which is now taking place ought to be important. The country, whose valuta stands so low, has need of all productivity possible. This year, unfortunately, the flax crop has fallen far below normal. The Government, which hoped to turn an honest penny by the export of this principal Estonian crop, wanted to pay the peasant too low a price. And the peasant promptly refused to plant flax. Now the official price has been doubled, and, it appears, the new crop planted has increased also. I think of Mr. Hoover's \$2.20 wheat, the howl it raised, and how wise he was in comparison with the Estonian officials.

Very disappointing was it to find here that the Government itself has made no effort at coöperative farming. Experiments in this line were the most interesting of the innovations in Soviet Hungary. The Estonian Government has a law permitting the formation of coöperative farms, but nothing seems to be coöperative except that some of the larger machinery will be given to the coöperatives for communal use. About seventy of these coöperatives have been formed. Milk "coöps" existed before the war. Estonia, before the war, was the dairy which supplied Petrograd. No wonder now that dairy products are not to be had in Petrograd, with Estonia cut off for almost two years. I am afraid that here, as elsewhere, even in Soviet Russia, a great and very stubborn class of small landed bourgeoisie is being formed. I frankly think this class the greatest obstacle to all real social advance.

When we turn to city life, perhaps we note a somewhat more radical performance than in matters agricultural. Most amusing is the project, about to be made law, of mobilization of labor. This means, in so many words, forced labor. The measure is aimed at two categories of people. There is the idle and demoralized loafer in the country, who manages to make a living by distilling illicitly; to this category belong many Russian soldiers of Judenich's army who are stranded here. The Estonian peasant needs help, and these huskies, Minister of the Interior Hellat means

to put on undermanned farms. The second category includes the city speculators. Many a skilled workman, owing to unemployment during the hard war times, has become an inveterate gambler and speculator and trader. These men Hellat will put to work, as well, or drive out of the country by the threat of work.

The third and last interesting manifestation of radical tendencies in legislation is the law now suggested for schools for trades. As a matter of fact, the idea is taken almost bodily from the Russian system. The Minister of Education requested the Soviet delegation here to give him all the details of the Bolshevik trade schools, in order that he might work out his program.

Only two things have been nationalized by the present Government, since the railroads were always state-owned. The printing business came under government control after a long and tedious strike, which threatened permanently to paralyze all the newspapers and publishing houses. Finally, the Government took over the bread factory. The printing establishment shows a considerable profit, and the bakery also. Yet, despite these facts, the Minister of the Interior confessed to me that these two factories were a source of constant worry.

I inquired about the political faith of the workmen in Estonia. I was not astonished to find that the factory workers were all communists and hoping for the arrival of the soviet system. But since the town proletariat constitutes only five per cent of the population, the danger of a revolution from this direction is not great. The seventy-five per cent of the population which was peasant proletariat before the war is now satisfied by being given the land.

All the journalists here have been summoned by Guhowski, chief of the commercial delegation which has just arrived from Soviet Russia. Guhowski showed us his credentials as sole representative of the united coöperatives of Russia. He spoke to us in both his capacities. He said, of course, what we all knew before, that Russia had nothing to export until somebody helped her to get her transportation system into shape. Meanwhile he made the startling statement that he was ready to meet all comers with an offer of payment in gold for all commodities offered. The need of Russia was so great that practically no questions would be asked. Guhowski had a milliard of gold which he has laid on the table to tempt western manufacturers. But this is only a beginning. He modestly referred to the Soviet Government's treasure in platinum of some eight thousand pounds, also ready for use in commerce. How long will the cash and valuables lie on the table before some Entente nation, the exchange value of whose money has dropped to almost nothing, will come and nibble—and then another—and yet another, like shy squirrels in Central Park at a bag of peanuts. In fact, it is certain that the English, through the medium of Estonian firms, are already beginning to nibble in a formidable manner, although warning the United States to keep off and deal only with the coöperative representatives in Paris. I think America should by this time have learned that this game has been rather exhausted of its comedy. We should remember how British merchants right after the armistice began trading with Germany through Scandinavian firms, while we were warned by British statesmen to adhere strictly to blockade.

The Russian delegation here is impressive. Guhowski strikes one rather as a business man than a diplomat. He

and the rest of the mission do not try for a moment to hide Russia's economic crisis. And they continue to nail as a fabrication the canards appearing in the foreign press that Soviet Russia is preparing an offensive against anybody. They repeat with an air of the greatest sincerity that they are willing to let Poland keep the frontiers now held by its troops. They say, as did Bela Kun, that they are not interested in purely territorial expansion. Thus they say that they have created an independent Ukraine, because the Ukraine soviets wanted independence. They are willing to leave Bessarabia to Rumania and make peace on that basis tomorrow. They deny that they intend to carry their propaganda into other countries or to make revolution their chief article of exportation. On the other hand, if Poland insists on the terms named by Grabski, the old, pre-partition boundaries, including most of Lithuania, part of Estonia and Lettonia, most of the Ukraine and what not else, they admit there will be war.

From what various members of the delegation have told me, I conclude the situation in Russia now is as follows: The peace party has triumphed and is being given every opportunity to make peace with all the world. On the other hand, the war party is also very strong. If the Polish farce keeps up, the farce will turn to tragedy. The war party will be given *carte blanche*, on the theory that all efforts for peace have failed. And it almost looks as if a new effort to kill the Russian revolution were in progress.

The wild Polish offer is one symptom. The actual arrival of Judenich at Riga is another. Here he and his officers are trying to use Lettonia as a new springboard for another dive into Russia.

I do not think it important to go over Judenich's history: the details of his attempt on Petrograd and the behavior of himself and his army. It would be amusing, this whole history, if it were not so sad. It is now established that Judenich and his expedition started during the German occupation of Estonia with German aid, and ended with the help of the British and Americans. The most humiliating part of Judenich's fiasco came when, on the eve of departure from Reval, he was arrested by one of his own generals, who wanted to sell him to the Bolsheviks at Dorpat. This general maintained that Judenich had not properly divided the army's funds. The arrest took place during a party given by Judenich and his staff. There were women there. Many of them and many of Judenich's officers were drunk. Champagne flowed like water on this memorable night. Owing chiefly to the intervention of the French officials, who all through the Judenich episode were much freer with intervention than with money or other material help, Judenich was released, instead of being sold to the Bolsheviks.

And on the same night, on the Narva, Judenich's troops, ill of typhus and starving, were dying under a frost-bitten winter sky.

The Lack of Houses: Remedies*

By ARTHUR GLEASON

HERE are no tidy optimistic little summaries possible on the housing situation. There is no overnight remedy. Banks, insurance companies, and large lending institutions "now show a great reluctance to make loans. They are in no mood for extending liberal credits on new homes. Other forms of building offer much better returns than does housing." And the bankers fear a shrinkage of values in houses.

For this problem—intricate, world-wide, increasing in severity—there is no panacea. But by pooling the experience of many peoples and many boldly-experimenting communities, the outlines of a housing policy emerge:

1. Land must be freed for community use.
2. The credit-power of the community must be placed behind the building of homes.
3. The network of business men's profits must be a little lifted from the building industry.
4. Town-planning must be recognized.
5. Transportation must relieve congestion.
6. Minimum standards must be set and maintained by rigid restrictive legislation.
7. In certain great cities (notably New York) some of the industries must be removed outside the city because the housing problem in such congested centers cannot be solved by more houses, nor additional transportation, since there is not room enough and land is too expensive.
8. Building material must be made available.
9. Community ownership and control of land and houses by copartnership tenancy societies must be made possible.

10. The private ownership of homes must be made possible.

11. Architects, and not speculative business men, must be made the "rightful masters in the task of providing shelter for man."

12. The sabotage of labor must be replaced by coöperation in public service.

Such is the large-scale policy for housing which experience suggests. Let us consider these twelve points in detail.

LAND

There is no question that F. T. Miller, president of the F. W. Dodge Company, is right when he says "The so-called unearned increment is the incentive to investment of savings in homes and real estate." But the attraction worked irregularly in that it tended to land speculating and the holding of land unoccupied. The Committee of the Reconstruction Commission of the State of New York says: "The increased values of land which result solely from the fact that individuals are crowded together are of no benefit to those who create them. This land increment, in most cases, is wasted in land speculation. . . . This increment is charged as a part of the cost of the house, either as rent or selling price." The remedy suggested by this Committee is: "Passage of an enabling act permitting cities to acquire and hold, or let, adjoining vacant lands, and if necessary to carry on housing. This legislation should be such as to permit conservation of the increment of land values for the benefit of the community creating it."

But no single remedy meets the situation. In the garden village of Sawyer Park (Williamsport, Pa.), the cost

*This is the second of two articles on housing. The first was printed in the issue of April 17.

of raw land was \$636 an acre. To develop 24 acres cost approximately \$2,000 an acre (sewer, sidewalks, curbing, lighting, streets, planting, etc.). The heavy expense was not in the cost of the land, but in developing that land. If land were given away, the cost of development and building would still sometimes be prohibitive.

MONEY

Housing is bound up with land, both are bound up with town-planning, and all three are bound up with our business system, and the obtaining of money. Money very properly goes where it finds friends. In house building it has been taxed, sabotaged, and profiteered till it has gone in other directions of speculative investment. A strong element in public opinion is in favor of temporarily relieving from taxation, in whole or part, real estate mortgages on residential properties up to some such amount as \$40,000, and of temporarily relieving new buildings from taxation. This remedy of tax exemption is the rendering of real estate money privileged. It is not a cure-all. Speculative money will turn to such forms of building investment as promise swift and large returns. This may mean increasing the congestion of large cities. The shortage of houses began long before the income tax troubled the investor. Industrial enterprises are paying profits and are expanding, although profits are taxed higher than realty mortgages.

In addition to tax-exemptions, Government aid takes three forms: Direct community action by state or municipal housing; loans to non-commercial housing companies at a low rate of interest (limited dividend public-welfare associations); loans to individual workingmen on such terms that they can build or acquire their own homes.

If taxes on mortgages, buildings, and improvements are lessened, and a larger fraction of the rental value of land is taken by the community, there will still be a shortage of houses. Stewart Browne, president of the United Real Estate Owners' Association of New York, says "Unless the State or city takes a hand in new housing there will be mighty little new housing for workers in the next few years."

A majority of the Housing Committee of the New York Reconstruction Commission recommend a law providing local housing boards in places of over 10,000 and a central State housing agency, to assist in the preparation of housing laws, zoning ordinances, and the like. They further recommend the development of a means for using State credits to apply to housing at low rates of interest without loss to the State, and the enactment of a Constitutional amendment permitting extension of State credit on a large scale and at low rates to aid in the construction of moderate priced homes. This does not mean that the State itself shall build such homes. It does not mean the State is to own or operate houses. It does not mean that the State is to offer subsidy for the construction of houses. It does mean that the State shall be enabled to loan money on its credit to limited-dividend corporations or to individuals or to organizations of individuals to build houses of such standards, as to light and air, as the State or community may determine to be desirable, the rentals of such houses to be controlled and the loans to be secured by adequate mortgages. Exemption of the bonds of the State Land Bank from State and Federal taxation is also recommended. These recommendations have the backing of such men as Felix Adler, George Foster Peabody, Charles Proteus Steinmetz, and Abram I. Elkus.

Various suggestions have been made for tapping credit-power. Among such are: a national housing fund, to be allotted to States with housing commissions, and by them granted to municipalities, and to limited-dividend non-commercial housing companies (civic, philanthropic, co-operative, industrial); postal savings deposit loans to individual workingmen; an amendment of the Federal Reserve act, permitting national banks to make housing loans (an extension of already existent permissions), thus rendering two billion dollars available; an amendment of the Farm Loan act, permitting housing loans; State housing funds made available.

With this scheme, as Edith Wood sees it:

The lowest economic group will have rented houses or tenements provided by cities and housing companies. Individuals aspiring to home ownership, with an income not exceeding \$1,200, are to have the benefit of low interest rates and long-time payments made possible by the release of postal savings deposits. An overlapping group—say those with incomes from \$800 to \$1,500—might attain group ownership through co-partnership methods, if they could be induced to try it. Those with incomes over \$1,200, debarred from the privileges of the postal savings deposits law, could have the same privileges as to time at the higher interest rate offered under the suggested amendment of the Farm Loan law. Persons with incomes of from \$1,500 to \$1,800 and over can get on very well under present building and loan association methods without special legislation in their behalf.

By the Massachusetts Homestead Commission, the State found it possible to appropriate money for the purchase of homes. Theirs is the first State housing enterprise in our country. Oklahoma has a law which authorizes the investment of certain state moneys in loans for building a home or paying off a mortgage on a home.

The United States Government entered the field of housing during the war. The Housing Corporation had a maximum program for housing 21,005 families. The average cost of the houses actually built was \$5,673.78.

The mutual building and loan associations have over four million individual members, and assets of nearly two billion dollars. By 1915, they had helped in building or acquiring over 700,000 houses. Their basic interest rate (with a few exceptions) is 6 per cent, and the completion of payment period is sixteen and one-half years. They have met the needs of the "black-coated proletariat" and the "salaried," rather than those of the unskilled worker.

PROFITS

The rise in the cost of living is mainly not due to profiteering. It is due to a scarcity of goods, after war-waste heightened by currency-inflation and credit expansion, labor demands, and the whole business system of profit-making, including the dozen well-hidden charges that precede the final spectacular price, inaccurately dubbed profiteering. Until more goods are produced, there will be little alleviation. This is true in housing as in everything else. "The difference between the creative cost of the home and the ultimate cost to the owner and occupant ranges from 20 to 35 per cent of the purchase price." Added to these profits for promotion are the profits on each item of material. As Sir Eric Geddes, British Minister of Ways and Communications, put it: "In the past, private interest made for development, but today, I think I may say, it makes for colossal waste. We must forego the luxuries of competition, we must forego private interest and local interest in the interest of the state."

In Great Britain the employers and workers (representing about 600,000 persons) formed a Building Trades Parliament. A committee brought in a report, signed by all the trades unionists and by three out of eight of the employers. This report called for an end to be made of the profit-making system, in order that production might be for use instead of for profits upon investment. The Committee found a "disinclination of the operatives to make unrestricted profit for private employers." The remedies suggested were a fixed guaranteed return to capital, and a wage to management. This Building Trades Parliament and its report, declaring against the system of private enterprise for profits, received a series of sympathetic articles in the important American trade publication of the Associated General Contractors of America.

TOWN-PLANNING AND ZONING

And town-planning and housing are only a portion of the problem of community life, which also includes development of the land, agricultural production, and industrial efficiency. Town-planning has as yet dealt more with the city beautiful, the opening up of plazas and vistas, the worthy placement of municipal buildings, than with transportation and housing. Several States have laws permitting cities to appoint official planning boards, and many cities are developing on lines of wise town-planning.

Zoning regulates and limits the height and bulk of buildings, and regulates and determines the area of courts, yards, and other open spaces. It divides the city into districts. It regulates and restricts the location of trades and industries and the location of buildings. It conserves property values, directs building development, is a security against nuisance, a guarantee of stability, and an attraction to capital. California, Illinois, Iowa, New Jersey, and New York have passed general laws permitting their cities to adopt zoning schemes.

TRANSPORTATION

Cheap rapid-transit is essential in solving the housing problem. Before the war, England was about to bring in a bill for a system of general transportation by means of light railways. Belgium has thirty-eight and one-half times as many miles of light railway in proportion to her area as Great Britain. This means that the worker can go from his factory to a home with a garden in the suburbs. Town-planning and cheap transportation will, in the long future, drain the slum dry and create garden communities. Fifty per cent of the Belgian population live in rural communes, although only twenty-three per cent of occupied persons are engaged in agriculture.

LEGISLATION

Among American names standing for effectual service in housing is that of Lawrence Veiller, secretary and director of the National Housing Association, author of "Housing Reform" and "A Model Housing Law" (revised edition of 1920). Upon his model housing law have been based the Housing Code of Michigan, applying to twenty-nine cities, the Minnesota Housing act, the Iowa Housing law. Many cities have ordinances based upon it. All the housing laws in the United States are based on the New York Tenement House law, the Veiller Model Tenement House law, or the Veiller Model Housing law.

Of the housing work of the Federal Government Mr. Veiller has written "The standards adopted by the Government for the housing of workers will have a potent influence upon the housing of the workingman in this country

for many years to come." Among these standards are: The declaration against the tenement house as a means of housing workers; the requirements for light and ventilation, and through or cross ventilation; the declaration for adequate space between adjacent buildings and for adequate open space between the backs of buildings; the prohibition of living quarters in basements, cellars, barracks, bunk houses, and dormitories of the usual type.

CONGESTION

In certain cities there is needed the distribution of population by the removal of industries from business centres to vacant land outside the congested area. New York city, for instance, is overcrowded. There is no room for many more houses. Subways make a slum out of a suburb, and increase the congestion. The general housing problem and the congestion of New York city are two very separate things. A year ago, when the clothing industry began to be dispossessed from Fifth Avenue, it had an opportunity to transfer itself to a new place outside the city. Instead it moved west two blocks. As long as industries huddle and breed in a city of limited area the crowding will increase. There is no real remedy until industry emigrates, leaving New York as a city of business. The housing problem of New York cannot be solved by more houses.

It is to meet such a need that the English Garden City idea was projected. The Garden City is a self-contained community with its own industries, land owned in common, density of population limited, and the community surrounded by a belt of agricultural land.

BUILDING MATERIAL

Building materials (in all grades of building) have advanced to 136 per cent above pre-war levels. This is connected with the forestry situation and the tariff. There is a scarcity of lumber, monopoly prices upon it, and a protective duty (in spite of downward revisions) on importations. There are tariff restrictions on such building material as hollow tile. The sabotage of labor affects the price of every item. The sabotage of business men is equally in evidence. If the situation were to grow acute enough, with angry, dispossessed tenants, unhealthy slum-dwellers, and factories idle because of no housing for workers, then there would perforce arise public control of building materials, exactly as the British Government controlled food during the war and now controls building material. But any such drastic action here is improbable in the immediate future.

COPARTNERSHIP TENANCY SOCIETIES

Group ownership of large areas of land and of houses is one important solution. Copartnership tenancy societies enable the members to become part owners of the community by investing in the company stock. The member lives in a house, whose rent is based on expense for use, instead of on land-and-house-scarcity, manipulated by private enterprise for profits. The unearned increment of land value is used for decreasing rents and bettering the public services of the community. The member is in possession of his home for as long a time as he holds his investment in the company stock. In Britain there are eighty coöperative tenancy societies of the limited-dividend, non-commercial type. Some of them are creating garden suburbs. One British company of copartnership tenants in nine years increased its assets from \$250,000 to \$30,000,000.

HOME OWNERSHIP

The results of private enterprise in building have been to destroy individual ownership of and property in homes.

The 1920 census will probably show that almost 60 per cent of our people are tenants. Mr. Miller of the F. W. Dodge Company says "Legislation promoting wider ownership of property can alone call forth the energy necessary for the maximum of production." He advocates the solution of the urban housing problem by placing long-term banking facilities at the disposal of the would-be home owner. The American Federation of Labor has called on Congress for "a plan by which the Government may build model homes for workers, and to establish a system of credits by which workers may build their own homes."

ARCHITECTS

Manual laborers and business men cannot give standards. The architect must again be master of the job as he used to be in the era of noble building. Professor Alfred Zimmern once said to me: "Only the artists can give our industrial workers a standard. Masons and bricklayers are no more qualified to design a house than navvies are to decide on how a bridge is to be built. The bridge will tumble and the house will be ugly."

Modern business enterprise directs industry through the machine, and controls production through the profit-making system. The architect is the hired servant of the business man. "Suppose," says the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, "that the way out does lie in the guild principle, under which architect and workman combine to control the industry rightfully theirs. It would mean emancipation for architecture, and why should we fear to be emancipated?"

LABOR

The workers have withdrawn their efficiency. This passive strike against the business system of machine industry for profits began early in this century in England. More recently it spread through the United States, where it is less consciously directed. Even before the war in Britain, the building trades were in wreckage. The necessary incentive of profits for business men did not, unfortunately, furnish an incentive for the 600,000 workers. It increasingly had the opposite effect of making the workers, who watched its operations in price-fixing and restriction of output, imitate the methods. They, too, turned to sabotage. They made profits in house building impossible. Since the war, in both Great Britain and America, the workers have gone to repair work and to the construction of industrial and commercial premises. Industrial inflation can stand considerable sabotage and still pay profits. But house building cannot.

In January of this year the Manchester building trade operatives made an offer to the City Council to build the houses needed at a lower price than that of speculative builders. They offered their labor power in place of tangible securities as a basis of credit. They asked the authorities for the necessary raw materials and money for wages and overhead. Building material is under the control of the Ministry of Health. The workers pledged themselves to find architects, directors, and other technical men.

There are two important matters in this proposal. One is the new conception of group credit based upon the power to produce, in contrast to bank credit based upon the purchasing power of gold. The position of the administrator, technician, architect, and surveyor, is the other matter of moment. Unless adequate representation and freedom are given to the non-manual functions, the guild will prove as sterile as business enterprise. Private building of homes

has failed. The State has not succeeded. Now comes labor with an interesting proposal. Its success will depend on the recognition it gives the architect.

The Nineteenth Century concerned itself with supplying an incentive to keep the business man at work. The problem of the Twentieth Century is to find those sources of motive which will draw out the productive power of the manual worker and the technical man. When the architect and the workman are enlisted, houses will be built. The credit-power of the community, based on productive capacity, will back their coöperative effort. Profits are not indispensable. But houses are.

The Political Crisis in Denmark

By PALLINE BAGGER

THE upheaval in Copenhagen reminds one of Voltaire's storm in a glass of water. It looked serious for two or three days, and almost droll. One could not help wondering if the last remaining kings were trying to destroy themselves out of sheer ennui, born of loneliness. It was the king, the amiable, popular king himself who seemed to have let loose the Danish revolution. This seven-foot monarch, who used to be the idol even of the Danish Social Democrats, suddenly began to rattle his sabre, just by way of reminding the Reds of his sovereign presence, and every one wondered what was going to happen.

The King dismissed the Zahle Cabinet which had been at the helm since 1913 and had thus earned the credit for having kept Denmark out of the war. When the final accounts come to be drawn, it may be found that Zahle's success in preserving neutrality was due more to sheer good luck than to the inherent wisdom of his course and King Christian may also have had reason to think that the Slesvig policy of the Zahle Administration had ingredients other than wisdom. To appreciate Danish policy regarding Slesvig it is necessary to understand its historic background. And the salient features of that background have been Prussian brutality in 1864, when the provinces were torn from the Danish realm, and Prussian tyranny ever since. Thousands of the younger generation of Danes emigrated from Slesvig and as time passed and the old autochthonous generation died out, Germans moved into the province and took the places of the dead and the exiled. Thousands of those Danes who were left were killed in the war. The provision of the peace treaty whereby expatriated Slesvigers were allowed to return and cast their vote unfortunately did not embrace those slumbering in the graveyards of northern France and of Poland.

To many Danes, by no means chauvinists, it remains an enigma why the Zahle Government through its spokesman at Paris, the Foreign Minister, Erik Scavenius, adhered to the old unexecuted clause of the Treaty of Vienna concerning a plebiscite in North Slesvig. If the Danish delegation had accepted the whole province of Slesvig, as originally offered by the Entente, and if Denmark had then bought out the German colonists, called home the Slesvig exiles, and drawn the final boundary along the line which separated the German from the Danish districts in 1848, the result thus obtained would have seemed intrinsically more just to many Danes, including their King. The Zahle Government may have been obsessed by age-long fear of the old enemy, Germany, and the Danish Social Democrats, faithful pupils

of Marx and Engels and Bebel, are somewhat tenderly disposed toward the pseudo-Socialist Republic of Germany. Such considerations may, in part, have influenced the decision at Paris.

The land-owning Danish peasantry disliked the social policies of Herr Zahle and his friends. Taxes were too high, wage regulations too elaborate, unemployment aids too generous, price-fixing too severe, governmental interference in all lines of public activity too annoying. The aristocracy remembered only too well that as a result of the constitutional reform of 1913-1914 it had to give up its acres for the purposes of expropriation and the creation of small free-hold farms; they hated with a genuine and natural hatred Zahle, the little fat son of a mere shoemaker. Among Herr Zahle's Cabinet colleagues it would be difficult to decide which was the least popular with these elements. There was the Minister of the Interior, Ove Rode, accomplished author and journalist, who had appointed himself the guardian angel of the farmers, telling them how to manage their holdings, how many head of cattle, how many hogs and hens to keep, how many to sell. The Minister of Finance, Edvard Brandes, a Jew, younger brother of the great critic, was hardly more beloved by the country folk. And then the impressive shadow behind them all, that of Herr Borgbjerg, foremost leader of the Social Democrats, who, not himself a Minister, was popularly called the "father of the Cabinet." They were all hated by the upper and the upper middle classes, whose hatred was blessed and encouraged by "Sir" J. C. Christensen, the idol of the prosperous peasants, who in the zenith of his glory had been knighted by King Edward VII.

Doubtless it was upon this hatred of the possessing classes that King Christian built the fortress of his defiance when he dismissed Zahle and chose to supplant him with men who had never taken an active part in politics, but who were known generally as the very bulwark of conservatism. They were men of the "strong hand" type, men of an iron character and castiron views—the lawyer Otto Liebe and the surgeon Dr. Rovsing.

For a moment it really looked like civil war. Flensburg, poor little old town, stood revealed for an instant as a mere pretext—that is, to every one except the King. To King Christian, Flensburg towered as a vital problem. For Christian X is the king of an old Viking land, and, moreover, a king addicted to riding on a great white horse at the head of his troops. It is natural that such a king should remember, in this revolutionary age, the golden past, when little Denmark was the mistress of all Scandinavia, England, Scotland, North Germany, and of Latvia and Estonia; that a tall king on a fine white charger, at the head of a small compact army with the possible backing of armies much larger, should think himself able to conquer a tiny seaport like Flensburg, in the face of a beaten Germany and a Cabinet of intellectuals headed by a short lawyer. King Christian would not be human had he not dreamed dreams like these.

So the King of the Danes clanked his sabre and prepared for a campaign of his own. But alas for the glamour of a Viking past, there was to be no campaign, because the Radicals and Social Democrats would have none. The Radicals and Social Democrats simply said, "Take away this fellow Liebe, your Majesty, otherwise we shall start a general strike next week."

The King realized that he had come up against something

stronger than either his dreams or the castiron gentlemen Liebe and Rovsing. He hated the idea of a general strike; he was a King, certainly; but he was also a Dane. So he told Ministers Liebe and Rovsing that he was sorry, but that they had better go. Then, with the permission of the Social Democrats, he appointed as Premier Herr M. P. Friis.

The Friis Cabinet is composed of men of the highest repute, of tried liberalism, and discreet courage. But their sojourn on the front bench of the Rigsdag will hardly be of long duration, as the elections are close at hand.

And then the real battle will burst forth.

The riots in Copenhagen we have read of are of little consequence; just corner skirmishes between the police and the "Bolsheviki"—a term of reproach in Denmark as elsewhere. Those riots had little to do with the rank and file of Danish organized labor, which constitutes well over 50 per cent of the entire working class. Half of the population of Denmark is agricultural; thirty per cent are industrial workers. The majority have a very high intellectual standing as a result of the educational work carried on for forty years by the trade unions, the Socialist press, the evening schools (in charge of university men) and the People's Universities.

Through the last half century the Danish peasantry have gradually increased their wealth by co-operation and scientific management. During the first years of the war, gold poured in on them in streams; the same was true of the fishermen who even before the war had been a prosperous group, most of them owning their homes and boats and equipment. That the damage caused by the German submarine war did not impoverish them or force them into the proletariat group is due chiefly to the state pensions wisely provided by the Zahle Government, which, for that matter, provided no less generously for the proletarians of land and city. Notwithstanding the benefits received at the hand of the Radical Administration, when the real test of strength comes the fishermen are likely to side with the landowning farmers, whose number has also increased by about 10,000 under the recent expropriation of feudal estates. The farm laborers, on the other hand, will side with the industrial workers.

The intelligentsia and the middle-class in general are divided between the two, and the Danish political arena will stage a performance interesting enough to attract outside attention if the king does not spoil things by supporting one of the parties against the other, as did his grandfather. The parties are almost equal in strength, and in all fairness should be left to themselves to fight it out in the Rigsdag.

On the other hand, if the king and the military party and the capitalists succeed in teasing awake the drowsy lion of the proletariat, there may be a struggle of a livelier nature. In Denmark the Socialists cannot be overlooked as they can at Albany. With their Radical allies they compose half the population. They have been the rulers for seven years. They are, individually and collectively, as self-possessed, sensible, and well-bred a group as can be found in the realm. They are the last people in the world to resort to violence. But if they find their rights and liberties are being infringed by a haughty minority, they will see—and perhaps act—red.

The choice is up to the king and his conservative friends. Shall the battle be a contest of parliamentarism presided over by a constitutional monarch as umpire, or shall it be

a real war with flying bullets and hand-grenades? It is to be hoped that the storm will remain confined to its glass of water, that the lion, even if slightly roused, will be content to show its fangs.

The present lull is that preceding the battle. It will not be a battle primarily about Flensburg; not even a battle of monarchy against republic, although the Social Democrats have the latter inscribed on their banner. The battle will be between country and city, between individualist freeholders and socialist workers—ultimately, between reaction and democracy.

Progress and the Gray Mule

By BEN SUTHERLAND

For a spectre haunts the Gray Mule's Rest,
Where the highroad mounts the Roaring Crest;
And the spectre sniffs, and wags his nose,
When the gas cars come on their rubber toes;
And he humps his back, and his heels go some,
And he slams them back till Kingdom Come.

—Sheep Herder's Song.

THE mule originated the reverse assault, and long practice has made him perfect. But the mule is not the only belligerent that faces the music with his heels. An obscure sheep herder may be pardoned, therefore, if he likens the obstructionist to a donkey; provided that he apologizes to the latter and contributes ten ears of corn by way of indemnity.

At least my friend Colonel Tuck Benson (retired) declares that the sheep herder's song of "The Gray Mule's Rest" is a symbolic reference to the historic struggle between Established Wrong and Young Progress. If the song has the tang of a barricade ballad, that is only because Progress sometimes is a little reckless, the Colonel says. Col. Tuck came into camp today humming something that sounded like a storm in the pine trees. He said it was a sheep herder's song—a song of the Vision. It was entitled "The Gray Mule's Rest"; and a Vision in which gray mules appear is normal. If the mules were pink it were no Vision.

The Colonel had been out to the sheep camps in the hills, stocking his paint pot with local color with which to adorn the inevitable tales when he gets back to civilization, Sir. Only, the Colonel calls you "Suh." It was the sheep herders that had seen the Vision.

As the tale runs, a great car had come up from the peopled plains and paused, "in a stranger's name," to ask about the road from Battle Rock, and over the Roaring Hills, to Stone. "And her motor roared a glory song, and the gray road winced as she streamed along." The road from Battle Rock to Stone is all up-hill till you come to the "high-flung crest, where the way flows down from the Gray Mule's Rest," from which point all is plain sailing. But the Gray Mule lurks at the roadside of his "Rest"; or, rather, some irresponsible caravanser has left him picketed there, an anachronism in the auto road of progress, like some belated war-gang in the circle of free nations.

So the mighty car essayed the hill, "and she honked some tune as she made the curves, and she creaked a bit as the pines whizzed by, for she made the humps and bumps on high." In the final heart-breaking struggle for the summit, with her muffler wide open, she roars a chorus to her "glory song," and she pokes her muzzle across the frontier of—

The Gray Mule's Rest.

But the Gray Mule was there. He offered no formal objection, but let loose both heels and kicked the glory car clean back to Battle Rock.

The great car tried again. Nine times it tried the pass (and is trying yet); but at every attempt the Gray Mule slams it back to Battle Rock. It is true the donkey feels a little sore when he perceives that "you kain't draw blood on a juggernaut," but he resolutely holds his post. The glory car also expresses a sentiment, in terms perhaps too vivid:

"Oh, hail and rain!" says the Iron Jane;
"This life is tough as bone;
But if ever I pass that gray he-ass
I'll slide like hell for Stone."

In the tragic finale, which I maintain is no finale at all, the stubborn Mule stands firm; and the gallant Jane carries on. One feels like standing by at least till the glorious car gives up.

So they drop a sigh as the days go by,
And they wait for the Car in Stone;
And ever they may, by day and day,
While the Gray Mule holds his own.

As for the interpretation—every visionary will have his own, to say nothing of the Gray Mule's version; but Colonel Tuck assures me that the Spectre eventually will have to git.

Lloyd George's Rubicon

By HERBERT W. HORWILL

London, March 31

THE Prime Minister is deeply grieved, he has told us, that "at this supreme moment" when "everywhere in Europe you have unrest and unselement" any responsible statesman should desire to revive in Great Britain the system of party government that was suspended by the war, or, as he contemptuously puts it, should try to start again the old wrangles between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. But the present occasion, it would appear, though of such a nature as to make party conflicts unseemly, is highly suitable for personal intrigues. In this solemn hour the restoration of peace and prosperity to suffering Europe waits upon the success of a British politician in a series of maneuvers aimed at bringing both Tweedledum and Tweedledee under his own control.

The plan was adroitly devised. The Unionists and the Coalition Liberals were to be fused into a permanent party bearing some more attractive name than the discredited label of "Coalition" and with Mr. Lloyd George as its head. The decisive step was to be announced at a meeting of Coalition Liberal M. P.'s, and, when they had approved it, it was to be further endorsed at a Unionist meeting. The scheme was to include also a revised program and a reconstructed ministry. Then, in order to secure a Parliamentary division which would separate the sheep from the goats, the House of Commons was to be asked to pass a motion which would amount to a vote of confidence in the Government.

Unluckily for the intriguers, their intentions leaked out a little too early. The unsolicited advertisement given them in the press prevented the stampeding of the Coalition Liberals and gave time for reflection and discussion. It

was, of course, necessary that the Prime Minister should carry with him the Liberal members of his Ministry before addressing himself to the general body of his Liberal supporters in the House. Evidently no trouble was anticipated in that quarter, but it was at that point that the check came. The conference of Liberal Ministers was held two days before the larger meeting. It lasted two hours and a half, and of the twenty-five Ministers present all but half a dozen spoke. Although this conference was strictly private, the *Times* the next morning published a column report of it. The account showed that so strong an opposition developed to the merging of the Coalition Liberals into a new party of a predominantly Unionist character that the Prime Minister was compelled to modify his plans and to promise that his speech to the Coalition Liberal members would advocate nothing more than better coöperation. "The conference broke up," concluded the *Times* report, "with the feeling that the new party had had a serious set-back, and that even the most modest 'fusion' had been postponed for some time." There was a great show of indignation in Government quarters at the breach of confidence, on the part of some Minister unknown, which had led to the disclosure of this private discussion. We are growing cynical nowadays, however, and it is pointed out by well-informed persons that it is very good bargaining for Mr. Lloyd George in his dealings with the Unionists to let it be known that prominent Coalition Liberals are reluctant to join in the new party project and that they will have to be won over very carefully.

The Coalition Liberal meeting was held at the time arranged, and a full report of it was issued afterwards with the Prime Minister's *imprimatur*. His speech consisted mainly of a defense of the continuance of the Coalition as the one salvation from the Bolshevism of the Labor party which threatened the whole fabric of society. As an M. P. who was present at the meeting has reminded us, at about the same time in Berlin Dr. Kapp was also pleading for "a solid union of all against the annihilating danger of Bolshevism," with the result of rallying the waverers to the Bolsheviks. In this speech Mr. Lloyd George urged the necessity of "a thorough and an efficient organization" to instruct the electors and prevent them from being misled, but he made no more definite proposal. When he was asked point blank, at the close of the meeting, whether it was proposed to create a new party out of the existing parties, he replied: "It is essential there should be closer coöperation. The form is not for me to dictate; it must be considered very carefully by those better able to express and to form an opinion upon it than myself."

Mr. Lloyd George has "a way with him" when he speaks, and his address is reported not only to have relieved his hearers of anxiety for their political future but to have roused them to enthusiasm. For the moment they were not worried about the problem of how the organized co-operation between the parties was to be worked out in the constituencies. The comments in the press have made entertaining reading. An editorial in the *Times* the next morning attracted scarcely less attention than the Prime Minister's speech itself. The article has been commonly interpreted as a "political portent," which indicates that that paper is henceforth to give its support to the Liberal party. It condemned the Prime Minister as a "false Liberal and a demagogue" who would fain lead Liberals along a reactionary path. His appeal for a rally against Labor

was an attempt "to win personal and political advantage out of the exploitation of ignorant fear." The speech, as a whole, proved "his incapacity to understand the processes of the public mind in regard to himself, his associates, and the problems of the hour." On the other hand, the *Observer*—whose editor, J. L. Garvin, is by far the most distinguished of the Prime Minister's journalistic supporters—exultingly declares that Mr. Lloyd George has crossed the Rubicon at last, but very quietly, without any of the "expected pomp and spectacle or the solid and flashing display of the legions." By crossing the Rubicon the *Observer* means, of course, definite migration to the Tory camp. Its remark that Mr. Lloyd George went over by himself in the night, leaving his followers to come over after with their "precious baggage" has suggested to the *Westminster Gazette* that the true classical parallel is Xerxes fleeing across the Hellespont, not caring what happened to his troops.

Whatever may be the ancient precedents, there has as yet been no formal announcement of Mr. Lloyd George's abandonment of the Liberal faith. He naturally fears lest a definite assumption on his part of the Unionist leadership would produce a revulsion of popular feeling, and that not within one party only. But sentence of excommunication was practically pronounced against him by the Liberal leader in a speech given at a National Liberal Club luncheon on March 24. Mr. Asquith's i's were dotted and his t's crossed by a resolution passed the same day by the executive committee of the National Liberal Federation, declining the Prime Minister's invitation to enter into closer coöperation with the Unionists, condemning the continuance of a coalition of parties, and urging the local Liberal associations throughout the country to maintain their independence. Mr. Lloyd George affects to make light of this resolution. He protests that he is still a Liberal, and refuses to be drummed out of the party. The attitude taken by the N. L. F., however, will have very substantial consequences. It means that henceforth every Coalition Liberal M. P. will either have to depend upon the support of the Unionist party machine in his constituency or to create a new machine of his own. The machine of the Liberal party, at any rate, will work against him. The pressure of events is thus driving the Coalition Liberals out of the indeterminate position which they have hitherto contrived to hold. The creation of a distinct Coalition Liberal machine is a virtual impossibility except in a very few constituencies, so the M. P.'s who have until now supported Mr. Lloyd George while retaining the Liberal name must shortly make up their minds whether they will follow him across the Rubicon into the Tory camp or will declare themselves against the Government either by attaching themselves to Asquithian Liberalism or joining the Labor party.

Contributors to This Issue

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In the Driftway

FROM *The Three Partners*, a magazine published by the employees of the United Shoe Machinery Company, Beverly, Massachusetts, there have come to The Drifter some verses which make it clear that at least one dexterous versifier has not been duped by our White Crusaders:

Old William J. McDub is just an ordinary clerk
Who draws about the average pay for ordinary work.
He has a wife and several kids to house and clothe and feed
And finds it harder every day to buy the food they need.
What makes the cost of living soar he hasn't figured out,
But says the men he voted for must know what they're about.
When Mr. Leading Candidate denounces discontent
And tells him of nefarious plots to seize the government,
Bill doesn't ask him why his rent went up another five;
He's thinking of the anarchists and thankful he's alive.
And Saturday, the day he bucks the line of profiteers,
The *Boston Transcript* comforts him and drives away his fears,
For there he reads the cheering news that on that very day
They pinched another Bolshevik in Paterson, N. J.
Now, Bill has never seen a Red, but knows he must beware;
Attorney General Palmer says they're lurking everywhere.
There's hundreds of them making plans to seize the land and grub
And rule the hundred million Whites, including Bill McDub.
They'll wreck the Constitution, too—unless the Favorite Son,
Who ferrets out the reddest Reds, can be induced to run.
The Constitution troubles Bill; he hasn't read it through,
But Candidates are much alarmed, and Bill he worries too;
So, while the rising cost of bread and increased railroad rates
May keep him working overtime on household estimates,
He knows it isn't any use to question or complain
Until they drive the Communists from Rumford Center, Maine.
If any moral can be found in this unseemly rhyme
It's this:
It seems that nowadays they fool them all the time.

This is such rank disloyalty we hastily call it to the notice
of the Department of Justice.

* * * * *

"FREDERICK, is God dead?" asked Sojourner Truth, the escaped slave, of Frederick Douglass at an anti-slavery convention in Salem, Ohio, when he expressed his apprehension that slavery could only be destroyed by bloodshed. "No," Douglass answered, "and because God is not dead, slavery can only end in blood." This colloquy took place about 1850 and now, seventy years later, the name of Frederick Douglass has been suggested for a place in the Hall of Fame—the first man of colored blood whose claims have been so urged. Born a slave, tall, of light color and most distinguished presence, and a genuine natural orator, Douglass lives secure in the hearts of his colored countrymen. Only one other man, Booker Washington, rivals him in the hero-worship of our colored Americans. Curiously enough, in John Drinkwater's original version of "Abraham Lincoln," the name of Frederick Douglass was given to the music hall, darky-type of colored preacher who in the play is sent for by Lincoln to hear the news of the Emancipation Proclamation. Fortunately, as the play was produced here, the name was changed, or a grievous historical wrong would have been done to a man whose veins contained some of the best blood of Maryland, whose diction was perfect, whose bearing most impressive. His high place in the history of his race is certain whatever may be the verdict of the Hall of Fame's electors.

WHAT struck the Drifter most at the recent exhibition in New York of the Society of Independent Artists was the small number of pictures conceived according to the newer or extreme ideas that the organization was founded to assist. In the beginning the exhibition was principally what the man in the street calls "freak stuff," but in each succeeding year there has been less and less of such painting. This year there was almost a preponderance of work by those who even in the conservative National Academy of Design would be rated as "old hats," together with a dreary succession of daubs by past-artists, near-artists, and never-were-artists. This is what some predicted at the outset would be the result of an exhibition without a jury, in which anybody could hang anything for which he was willing to pay an entrance fee of \$10. In the view of the Drifter, however, this does not mean that the Society of Independent Artists has failed of its purpose. It only shows that any method of getting together pictures is attended with difficulties. The Drifter does not believe that any one perfect way will ever be devised; he likes to see exhibitions assembled according to various methods. He believes in a jury of selection; he believes in the "red card" of the National Academy (by which a member may enter one work without submitting it to the jury); he believes in the \$10 entrance fee, without jury, of the Society of Independent Artists; he believes in small exhibitions by self-constituted groups; he believes in open exhibitions; he believes in exhibitions limited to the members of individual clubs or societies; he believes in them all—and he disbelieves, too. And because he both believes and disbelieves he likes to see all methods used, trusting that somehow in the end the good will be appreciated and will survive.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Next Step Upward

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The readers of *The Nation* must rejoice in the public-spirited protest of the little phalanx of eminent teachers of religion against the Czarist policy of our government, with its cruel deportations and its unscrupulous suppression of free speech. Good as this brave utterance is, it is still on the negative side, like the effort of the convalescent to regain the use of his limbs. The world is dying for the enterprises of sound spiritual health and constructiveness. The United States faces the mightiest opportunity ever presented to a humane people. Practical men, Maynard Keynes and Brailsford and Mr. Hoover, point the way. *The Nation* plainly indicates it. But no one who spoke frankly during the war, as you did, can do anything directly now. You do reach, however, many thoughtful ministers, such as signed the recent memorial in the name of freedom. Cheerful pacifists before the war, they became "full-blooded" supporters of the government. They were able to do both things at the same time—to hold their religion and to urge their young men to fight in the trenches. They therefore possess influence and popularity. It is up to them now, their energy deepened by clean consciences and refreshed by the approval of their fellows, not merely to retrieve the blunders and fatuities perpetrated by their more pagan allies—their blockade of Germany for months after the armistice, their wilful and horrid intervention in Russia, and the cruelties of the Paris Treaty, but to resume progressive activity, earnest enough to turn (it may be) the enormous suffering of the world into permanent gain.

Why cannot these leaders in civilization, experienced in all

sorts of "drives" for lesser ends, undertake a truly grand movement, country-wide, to follow the clue which philanthropy and wise economics combine to advise? Why can they not unite the most ideal and virile forces which, as they have told us, the war stimulated, and resolutely urge upon the country and on Congress: first, that we move at once to extend the undiminished power of our credit to all the bankrupt nations of Europe, standing ready to forgive them, if need be, their indebtedness to us; secondly, that we attach to our offer one obvious condition, namely, that not a dollar further shall be spent in fighting, and that every nation shall accordingly agree to immediate disarmament; and finally stop our huge and needless army and navy expenditure.

Is any course so practical as this? Has anything less than this any real hope in it? I should think that all men, but especially the religious people who have called the war necessary, or even a "holy war," would like thus to test the soundness of their spiritual health and of their faith, both in God and in the brotherhood of man. Never, surely, did a people have such an opportunity as this which now opens before the American nation. We can set the world ahead by the value of a century.

Honolulu, March 4

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Palmer's Publicity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Answering the questions of Mr. Edward D. Tittmann in his letter of March 13, which appeared in your issue of March 27, though the questions were not asked of me, it can be said with certainty that there is no law on the books which makes it the duty of Mr. Palmer to conduct propaganda of any kind. On the other hand, there is a statute of the United States which is worth looking into to see whether his acts do not, at least in spirit, constitute such acts as are forbidden by said statute. One would not be unjustified in saying that they are exactly the kind of acts the statute was passed to do away with.

"Sec. 6. That hereafter no part of the money appropriated by this or any other act shall, in the absence of express authorization by Congress, be used directly or indirectly to pay for any personal service, advertisement, telegram, telephone, letter, printed or written matter, or other device, intended or designed to influence in any manner a member of Congress to favor or oppose, by vote or otherwise, any legislation or appropriation by Congress, whether before or after the introduction of any bill or resolution proposing such legislation or appropriation; but this shall not prevent officers and employees of the United States from communicating to members of Congress on the request of any member or to Congress, through the proper official channels, requests for legislation or appropriations which they deem necessary for the efficient conduct of the public business."—Third Deficiency Appropriation act, fiscal year 1919, approved July 11, 1919. Vol. 41, U. S. Statutes at Large, page 68.

Can it be out of order to suggest that agents of the Department of Justice conduct an investigation to see whether said statute is being violated?

East of Chicago, March 29

SENTINEL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Edward D. Tittmann asks me in your columns to quote chapter and section of any act that makes it the duty of the Attorney General to conduct propaganda against Bolshevism. I would answer by asking Mr. Tittmann to quote any law forbidding the Attorney General from taking any appropriate measures that will help to keep this country out of the Bolshevik madhouse. From a long experience in a very modest office (in the government of the District of Columbia) I have learned that an officer can do a number of reasonable things not explicitly mentioned in acts of Congress, provided only they

are not forbidden. Attorney General Palmer, the chief law officer of the United States Government, has apparently discovered the same and is governing himself accordingly.

In order that there may be no opportunity for misconstruing my motives in writing I wish to state that so far as I can recall I have never met Mr. Palmer. I certainly have nothing to do with his political fortunes.

Washington, D. C., March 30

GEORGE F. BOWERMAN

Hooverizing in the Universities

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Why are college faculties supporting Hoover for President? I want to tell you about the Hoover club which was launched a short while ago at my alma mater. An announcement was read in Chapel one morning recently that all those interested in Hoover should meet immediately after the service and organize a club to spread Hoover propaganda. The movement was started by a member of the faculty who is professor of Latin and used to be a strong Wilson man. However, it seems, he has practically the entire faculty, including "Prexy," on his side. Democrats and Republicans united in favor of Hoover, the "independent-progressive." So the club was formed and undergraduates were elected as officers.

During Easter recess plans have been maturing for an intensive campaign to create Hoover sentiment in the college. The faculty is something like Maine. As Maine goes, so goes the nation; as the faculty votes, so the students. The students can't afford to irritate the faculty, and who has a conscientious objection to faculty political opinions, anyway?

Undergraduates know which side of their bread is buttered. It is a rare thing for us—most of us not even of voting age—to oppose the faculty on political grounds. If the faculty is for compromise, so are we. Hoover symbolizes compromise, for he had not explained himself to the voters or to the bosses. Why not Hoover? Ah, but isn't there already a son of California with his hat in the ring? And Hiram, at least, keeps his promises and doesn't change with the wind!

New York, April 5

AN UNDERGRADUATE

The Abstemious Turk

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I notice with sorrowful amazement that current editorials in many of our zealous "dailies" are clamoring for the expulsion of the "unspeakable" Turk from Europe.

Now, why in these dry and wicked times do these papers clamor for the exile of that saintly race? They evidently ignore the fact that the Turks represent the highest type of modern civilization, towards which we, red-blooded readers of *The Nation*, are, by constitutional amendment, tending. For more than a thousand years have these Turks prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor "for beverage purposes," and, as a happy consequence, for more than a thousand years this abstemious nation has been blessed with peace and prosperity. Why, then, in the name of Ginger Ale, banish such a godly race from Europe?

Baltimore, April 12

C. J. A.

Who Would Say It?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Don't you think we ought to reward people for saying good things, if we punish them for saying bad ones? If we give a man six months in prison for saying Lenin is the "most brainiest man," how about six months at Palm Beach for saying that Lloyd George is the brainiest man in Europe?

New York, April 9

C.

Gargoyles

By JULIAN M. DRACHMAN

Because we look like you,
Because we grin like you,
Because we shrug our shoulders and make ugly mouths
And point and gibber at the angels on ridge and spire,
Shrieking without words our visible envy,
As you do—
Therefore you hate us.

Because you have made us
And made us ill,
Because you could not help making us as we are,
Having spun us out of your very selves,
Because we are ourselves,
You hate us.

Therefore you torture us into all sorts of wry shapes
And cram us into corners,
Folding up our crooked legs,
Twisting our crooked bodies,
Pushing our heads into weazening molds
To make us fit tight edges.
And then you try to laugh at us,
But, in your hearts, we know, you hate us.

This shall be our revenge:
Whenever you step out into the bright sunlight of joy or
faith,
We, at our ugliest, shall be your shadows;
Whenever you choose pure marble or jasper or lucent onyx
To carve an angel of surpassing beauty,
Your hand will carve a gargoyle;
Whenever you plan to build to the abiding glory of the Great
Spirit
A home for the grandeur you sometimes feel,
Against your will you shall crowd its dark places with our
leering forms;
And you will look at us and see yourselves,
And you will hate us.

Books

The Unhappy Island

Elizabethan Ulster. By Lord Ernest Hamilton. E. P. Dutton and Company.

Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey. By H. S. V. Jones. University of Illinois Studies, Vol. 5, No. 3.

Ireland the Outpost. By Grenville A. J. Cole. Oxford University Press.

The Soul of Ireland. By W. J. Lockington, S. J. With an introduction by G. K. Chesterton. The Macmillan Company.

The Irish Tangle and a Way Out. By Thomas Costello Johnson. Edwin S. Gorham.

Irish Impressions. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. John Lane Company.

If the union of England and Wales has been a marriage—after a courtship of the primitive type; if the union with Scotland has been a business partnership following a long period of cut-throat competition; the position of Ireland has always been that of a captive. To her unwilling mind the

English domination has always been a foreign one, and this fact makes more difference with her than whether her master has been cruel, as formerly, or kind, as of late. The saddest period of all Erin's life is that dealt with by Lord Ernest Hamilton and Mr. Jones, the sixteenth century, when to the old antagonism of race was added a new hatred of creed and a new commercial competition. The policy of Henry VIII was "to reduce that realm to the knowledge of God and the obedience of Us"; that of Elizabeth was to pray that God might "call them to a knowledge of his truth and to a civil polity," and to assist the Almighty by the most fiendish means. Her ministers often wished that Ireland were at the bottom of the sea, and it was seriously proposed to solve the problem of her government by a general massacre of the population; but it was recognized that "to enterprise the whole extirpation and total destruction of all the Irishmen in the land would be a marvellous sumptuous charge and great difficulty."

And yet the whole purpose of Lord Ernest Hamilton's book is to show that for the crime called the government of Ireland there were some extenuating causes. "The queen's Irish enemies," as they were called, "who lived west of the Barrow and west of the law," did their best to discredit a good cause by their savage treachery. There are few more unpleasant characters in history than the O's and the Mac's who spent their lives in plundering their own subjects and murdering each other. "Let a thousand of my people die," remarked one chief-tain, Neil Garv, "I pass not a pin. I will punish, exact, cut, and hang where and whenever I please." So desperately at odds were they that no common cause was possible; neither the rebellion of Essex nor the aid of a capable Spanish army ever shook the feeble English grasp from their necks.

It is a sad story; the ferocity of the Irish chiefs was fairly matched by the incompetence and venality of Elizabeth's lieutenants. Sir Henry Sidney was the one really honest and able man sent to govern the Western Island; the others were equally corrupt and faithless. And with them they brought English settlers to Ulster, consisting, as was frankly noted by contemporaries, "of those whom England refuseth," bankrupts and fugitives from justice, who "irrecuperably dam-nified this state."

It was for one of the English oppressors, Lord Grey, that Edmund Spenser put forth his famous apology. It was after Grey's raid in 1580 that the poet wrote: "The people were brought to such wretchedness that any strong heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs would not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out from their graves. They did eat the dead carriions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as their very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they thronged as to a feast for a time." Naturally, it was difficult to justify a method that produced such results; Spenser's championship of Lord Grey sorely needs Mr. Jones's apology for Spenser, and, possibly, some future student may have to write a defense of Mr. Jones's defense of Spenser's defense of Grey. The poet's pamphlet has been fought over ever since it was published; the Irish call it wicked, the writer's admirers try to prove that it is consistent with the highest morality. In fact, it is but another example of a good man's vision warped in a particular instance by patriotism and racial passion.

The story of Erin not as it is but as it should be is the theme of the geologist and anthropologist. Mr. Cole believes that "a realization of the physical structure of Ireland, and of her position as an outpost of Eurasia, may lead to a wider comprehension, not only of the land, but of its complex population. . . . If the presentation is a true one," he adds, "the nine sections should lead to one conclusion; but I would ask the reader to draw that conclusion for himself." This conclusion

is anticipated in the first sentence of the book: "Nature allows no 'self-determination' to any point on the surface of the globe." If the geology, flora, fauna, and ethnology of Ireland show that it is closely united to the British Island, it should not seek to go off on its own politically. As an argument, ably presented, this one is peculiarly liable to be reduced to the absurd. If Ireland is an outpost of England, is not England an outpost of Europe? Should it not, therefore, be politically incorporated with France or Germany? It is no use proving that there is no such thing as an Irish race; as long as they think they are a race and nation, for all practical purposes they are one.

If Lord Ernest Hamilton (like Euripides) describes men as they are, and if Mr. Cole (like Sophocles) presents them as they ought to be, Father Lockington (like Æschylus) portrays them as gods, or at least as wonderfully godly. In one long, sickly, sentimental rhapsody, in the roccoco style, he exalts "Ireland, my ireland" for its Catholic faith. It is not for anyone to disparage sincere religion, but surely one might find better examples of piety than the one he takes as typical, that of a man who, when he was drunk, would walk home the long way from the tavern, adding seven miles to his jaunt, to avoid passing a church. It reminds one of the Spanish bandit who, as Dr. Johnson assures us, must have had excellent principles because he touched his hat every time he passed a crucifix.

Not only a succinct sketch of Ireland's history, but a neat solution for her future troubles is offered by the Rev. Thomas Costello Johnson, an American of Irish birth, who in 1918 returned to his native land and stumped it in the interests of the British recruiting sergeant. Armed with a letter from Colonel Roosevelt, warning the Irish that "the test of our friendship in the future for any nation should be that nation's attitude in this war," he travelled from north to south urging Sinn Fein to take up arms against England's foe. It is apparent from the press reports he quotes at length that these meetings aroused enthusiasm and met with no opposition—only, when the speaker said that Ireland would fight for justice the audience shouted "An Irish Republic"; and when he asked, rhetorically, what would be the greatest power at the Peace Conference, the crowd yelled "Germany." For mysterious reasons Mr. Johnson and his party failed to get the 50,000 recruits demanded by the British Government. He feels, however, that he is able to suggest a solution for the knotty problem of Ireland's rule. He rejects independence and any form of home rule involving the partition of Ireland, but thinks that federalism, modelled on that of the United States, would suit the needs of the case. In the first place, he recommends an educational reform. Religion, a main cause of Irish hostility to England, should be banned from the schoolroom, and in its place patriotism should be taught. Probably he means a sort of imperial patriotism, for of the local variety there is already an abundance. Curiously enough, he recommends that Erse be made a compulsory study in the schools; perhaps he thinks that the children would then grow to dislike it as much as they now dislike Latin. Many other minor reforms are recommended by him, mostly financial, and all involving the "generous coöperation" of the imperial government.

Mr. Chesterton also has a remedy for the now well-nigh impossible Irish difficulty, and a remedy worth considering, for one must not think, because so much of Mr. Chesterton's talk is "chaff," that none of it is wheat. It is true that the chaff bulks largely in the puns to which, here as everywhere, he is a slave. He cannot mention the recent cattle-driving and maiming outrages without remarking that such treatment shows a poor appreciation of Irish bulls; the name of the patriot rebel makes him recall the verse about "Casements opening on the foam of such very perilous seas in a land so truly forlorn"; the Harp of Tara's Halls, he thinks, should be playing "Tara-boom-dey"; and he can hardly see a few vegetables without taking an awful twist to work in some allusion to "the wearing of the greens."

Withal, his purpose is a serious and a noble one, to do justice to Ireland and to see her happy, not in the way he wants, but in the way that she wants. He does not mince his opinion of England's treatment of her weaker sister, for, as he characteristically says of himself, "I need have Irish blood in my veins in order to wish not to have Irish blood on my hands." "Over all those hills and valleys," he remarks elsewhere, "our word is wind and our bond waste paper"; and again, "the Irish regard our Government simply as a liar who has broken his word." In his opinion the furious hatred of Sinn Fein is a reaction caused by the disappointment of the people when the British withdrew the actually passed Home Rule Bill. In this he is probably only partly right, but it is true, as he says, that England's one chance of keeping Ireland pacified, though a poor one, is the immediate reenactment of the measure of 1914.

Most of the books here under review agree with the impression taken by the reviewer while in Ireland some years ago, that the religious issue is one of the strongest elements in the situation. Chesterton is with the Catholics; his hard words are all for Ulster, in which he sees the lonely missionary now left in the world of an obsolete Calvinism. "There was a rival city to Belfast," he says, "and its name was Berlin." The Reformation, he "fancies," was a "barbaric breakdown, like the Prussianism which is the ultimate product of Protestantism." This is one-quarter true and three-quarters false; but it appears to be true more readily at Belfast than elsewhere. Public speeches, sermons, and conversation there largely turn on the religious issue. A joke that became almost a *cliché* in the north of Ireland some years ago at the time of his Majesty's visit, was to the effect that the difference between the king and the pope was that the former was going to Belfast and the latter was going to hell fast.

PRESERVED SMITH

Discrepancies

Documents and Statements Relating to Peace Proposals and War Aims, December, 1916—November, 1918. With an Introduction by G. Lowes Dickinson. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

THIS collection, the purpose of which "is to preserve the record of the aims of the belligerent Governments, as set forth by them during the great war," contains, in addition to the official notes of the Governments and many speeches by prominent statesmen touching on peace and war aims, a table of the chief events of 1917 and 1918, and an excellent introduction by Mr. Lowes Dickinson. It makes an invaluable historical textbook, and indeed a necessary one to all who would probe the truth of the assertion so frequently made that peace might have been obtained long prior to November 11, 1918. Beginning with the German Peace Note of December 12, 1916, and ending with President Wilson's note to Germany of November 5, 1918, the collection covers all the known abortive attempts at an earlier settlement; shows how whenever a possibility of this seemed in sight it was always promptly put to flight by the leaders on one side or the other; and how after each opportunity thus lost the possibility of a peace which could be healing or lasting grew fainter.

Future generations will probably marvel at the curious lack, here so evident, of inspired leadership. With the exception of some of President Wilson's speeches there are none in this book which had the ring of greatness, or which enunciated principles large enough in their scope to be acknowledged, as the best of his were by all Governments, as beyond dispute. The German and Austrian speakers seem to be always feeling their way, with tentative fingers on the public pulse; the French are curtly inimical; while the British reflect the herd instincts of combativeness and impregnable self-assurance. There is much talk through all these pages of the interests of humanity in general,

but through all those of European origin, at least, the principle of nationality shows its teeth equally when on the offensive or defensive. Mr. Lowes Dickinson reminds us "that we have here only such part of the diplomacy of the war as the statesmen concerned thought fit to give to the public." That this should be so voluminous is, in itself, he says, "a significant fact. It shows that the time has come in which it is impossible to carry on a war without at least a brave show of motives appealing to the ordinary citizen. Moreover, as is clear from all our texts, the only motives which it is supposed will appeal to the public are ideal—self-defense, treaty obligation, outraged right, the cause of the weak. No government, whatever its real objects, ventures to call upon the people to wage a war for territory and markets." We must therefore peruse these documents in the light of our present knowledge of the secret treaties. For, as he points out, "they were an important determinant of the policy of the Allies. They precluded any peace on a basis of give and take, of mutual agreement, of a drawn war; and were alone sufficient to rule out the kind of settlement to which presumably President Wilson was looking when he issued his first Note."

"America," declares Mr. Lowes Dickinson, "came into the war simply and solely to establish right and a durable peace based on a new international order. And her action constitutes an unprecedented and capital fact in the history of mankind." Were this absolutely correct, it would only render more obvious the discrepancies between avowed Allied aims and subsequent settlements. Mr. Lowes Dickinson concludes: "As will be clear from the documents, the Germans laid down their arms on the condition that the terms of peace should be governed by the fourteen points of President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8, 1918, qualified only by the reservations contained in the Note of November 5, 1918. Any failure to apply these points impartially and sincerely would be, therefore, a breach of faith on the part of the Allied Governments. Whether, in fact, the peace dictated at Paris is in conformity with this pledged faith, especially as regards points 5 and 6, whether the exactation of a war indemnity, as distinguished from compensation for damage done to the civilian population, is compatible with the conditions offered and accepted, are questions to which the reader cannot afford to be indifferent. For they involve the honor of his country."

B. U. BURKE

Low Tide in Spoon River

Starved Rock. By Edgar Lee Masters. The Macmillan Company.

"STARVED ROCK," a miscellany of hymns, apostrophes, and monologues, a program of celebrations and chastisements, is most acceptable when it recalls the "Spoon River Anthology" in tone or in method. It is beginning to be apparent that Mr. Masters neither can nor needs to depart from his original tone and method. He cannot do so profitably; and there is no need, since the vein which served them seems inexhaustible. There are not lacking here the old familiar notes of sour, practical tragedy, of hoarse, heroic scepticism, of good, round, pagan, Chicago fleshliness. The reader cannot forget the broad grasp of this poet's personality. His idealism still is muscular, his Plato still is militant, his Buddha and his Christ still hit straight from sinewy shoulders. His insistence upon the eternal illusion is as solid as ever; his adoration of the ultimate silences reverberates as always. His fancy has not forgotten the technique of the rampage. He has tang and humor again. He indulges in his best political sarcasm, specifying mercilessly the worst that was or is in Mark Hanna and Mr. Bryan. He delivers tremendous metaphors with godlike gall and precision. He concentrates ages of violent experience in the few sardonic pages of a dramatic monologue that is more headlong but not less true than Browning. With excellent irony he explains the tragedy of the ridiculous and exposes the absurdity of the

tragic. The Barber of Sepo and "They'd never know me now" are altogether impressive studies of half-madness at close range.

For the recurrence of all these virtues, excessive to the borders of vice as some of them may be, the student of American poetry is glad. But he is sorry for a certain strenuous complacency which has been growing in Mr. Masters over a considerable period and which is particularly objectionable in the present volume. On the whole he is too long; he says too much. He likes too well to hear himself storm the paste-board walls of Puritan weakness and bang the galvanized-iron tub of liberty. He despises popular preachers above all other men, perhaps; but there is something of the popular preacher in him when he rolls beyond self-criticism. He is often hasty, and clumsy, and padded. He must tag every poem with a moral—his own moral, of course, and not an anaemic one, but still a moral. This scorner of rotundities tends toward rotundity. He has assumed, not always fortunately, the functions of a prairie seer; he counts the generations, invokes deluges and glaciers, censors time and change. He was more credible when he was sifting Spoon River scandal. There is something expected, tame, and Old Testament about his grandeur. His vision is the vision of a well-fed eagle on a high, safe, comfortable hill; it does not undulate round the world. There was nothing expected or tame about the "Anthology," for the reason that its author was exercising himself solely in cool, minute, legal analysis of human motive and passion. When he ceases his crystal-gazing, we may look for further wonders.

Reforms and Beginnings

Miss Lulu Bett. By Zona Gale. D. Appleton and Company.
This Side of Paradise. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Shadow. By Mary White Ovington. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

MISS ZONA GALE is revenging herself on Friendship Village. For years she fed its impossible legends to a public with an unlimited appetite for inexpensive sweets. But all the while she knew it to be in the same part of the physical and moral world as Spoon River and Winesburg. At last both her nerves and her artistic honor have rebelled. She has written a thoroughly admirable and thoroughly unpopular book and vindicated at last the promise of her literary beginnings.

She has fixed her and our attention on the Deacon family: Dwight, its head, whose intention it was "to be a case," his admiring wife Ina, the girl Diana who was "as primitive as pollen," and "the child Monona" whom Miss Gale has named after the least attractive of a group of lovely Wisconsin lakes and whom she regards with a sharp and almost bitter eye. In her portraiture of these people Miss Gale has borrowed a little, but only a little, from Dorothy Richardson and the ultra-impressionists. The work is clear, direct, dry, and full of haunting little implications. One has to go to Maupassant's "Mon Oncle Jules" for a little family so stripped of its swathings and defenses. Miss Gale is dealing with a kindlier and decent folk. Her artistic temper is almost as cruel. How Friendship Village must have rasped her nerves during the sweetish years!

In such a family as the Deacons it is not hard to imagine the situation of a dependent mother and sister of the wife. Mrs. Bett has the weapon of her "tantrims." It wounded no one but it gave her the sense of being alive and effective. Lulu had no weapon of any kind. She faded and drudged and did not discover the tyranny under which she lived until she had escaped it for a period. Nothing in Miss Gale's observation is subtler or truer than that Mrs. Bett and Lulu, crushed as they were except in the rare hours during which the Deacons were absent from their happy home, had no intelligent consciousness of their own condition, but permitted their accidental misfortunes to

usurp the place of their minds. Mrs. Bett was old, and we have Miss Gale's word for it that Lulu escaped. But she should tell us more about the incomparable Dwight Deacon, dentist and Justice of the Peace, and about Diana and the child Monona. They are as authentic as are few things in our native fiction.

Mr. F. Scott Fitzgerald bursts into view misrepresented slightly by the title of his book and grossly by its Gibsonesque "jacket," but handsomely equipped for the practice of his art. He has two excellent pages on contemporary literature in America. There are the novelists who are deliberately dishonest; others who would like to write honestly but whose "style and perspective are barbarous"; still others who have the ability to write honestly, but who "claim there is no public for good stuff," when, as a matter of fact, all the very good and very shocking British novelists depend on America for half their sales. Next Mr. Fitzgerald has his pertinent and not unkindly fling at the more apocalyptic of the vers-librists of whose picturesque names he makes a little poem quite in their own manner. There is something in this beginning of his that recalls a fluttering banner and a bugle at dawn.

To come now to his own practice. He is still largely absorbed by mere form and mere mood—the literary passions of youth. No one will object to his telling his story through impressionistic episodes, letters, poems, dramatic interludes. But these matters of external method have less importance than he thinks today. Nor are they nearly so insurgent. Insurgency is in the mind and builds its form from within outward. But Mr. Fitzgerald's mind is still hovering uncertainly on the shore of new seas of thought. It is—to risk a bull—rather afraid of wetting its feet. So, too, with his moods. Except for the really brilliant verses on the Princeton professor, the poems that embody these moods are not really unconventional. He practises the beautiful forms of Paul Fort far more in the spirit of the French poet than Miss Amy Lowell. But his emotional wealth deceives him. He has not yet reached any thought or perception that is absolutely his own.

His story, as one would expect, is in the deeper sense if not in outer circumstances, autobiographical. Amory Blaine is a little monster of precocity, though a pleasant one. He goes to St. Regis' school and is almost merged into the tribe. He goes to Princeton and his mind awakens. Yet he enters the war quite in the spirit of the popular myths and comes back only faintly liberalized. He has his gorgeous affair with Rosalind, which corresponds exactly with youth's dream of a great passion rendered tragic by the base uses of the world. He gets drunk steadily during the several weeks left before the fatal July 1, 1919. Then, having lost most of his money, he sets out on a tramp to find his soul, shocks a capitalist in a motor car with talk about the social revolution which he does not half believe, and is left in the road gazing at the spires of Princeton and saying: "I know myself." He does not. He has not yet come into any self to know. Neither has Mr. Fitzgerald. But he is on the path of those who strive. His gifts have an unmistakable amplitude and much in his book is brave and beautiful.

"The Shadow" is a story with a purpose, more distinguished for its admirable spirit than for its exact vision. The execution is unexceptionable, but the people and the incidents lack concreteness. No doubt Miss Ovington has seen them in the flesh. But she has seen them as a sociologist rather than as an artist. But this will not trouble the average reader at all. And since in most of the novels he gets the characters are conventionalized into conformity with the demands of intolerance and hatred, one cannot but desire a wide popularity for this book in which the controlling spirit is one of humanity and of the civilized instincts. The morally or intellectually fastidious do not read Thomas Dixon. It is those who do, who need an antidote. And it is quite possible that the "novelistic" character of this book will broaden the effective appeal of its invaluable intention.

Books in Brief

If one were permitted to import an author's mannerism into a critique of that author's book, one would say that (unquestionably) "Broome Street Straws" (Doran) show the genius (so to speak) of Robert Cortes Holliday (had the reader guessed as much?) blowing in a manner whimsical toward places pleasant and persons most peculiar. At a time when taut-nerved novelists, dramatists, and poets are furrowing their brows with philosophy, it is a kindness to be permitted to leave the riddle of the universe for the moment unsolved, and to look once more upon human beings, not as parts of a cosmic puzzle, but as self-moved creatures with individual and interesting lives. In effect, the author of these sketches says to himself: "This is the way people are—'people, people, people with their funny faces, funny clothes, and funny ways.' What makes them so, I have no means of telling. You ask what will make them otherwise? . . . Well, . . . I really haven't stopped to think about that. You see, I don't know all these people yet. And I haven't time for anything else until I know them all." Chesterton's chintz parlor in Beaconsfield, that author-haunted club in Indianapolis, and the best room at Mrs. Wigger's in Broome Street are all alike in this, that each offers "peeps at people," rather than the opportunity for literary criticism, or the raw material for consciously coherent literary production. In fact, it must be admitted that where the author leaves pleasant converse about the Wiggers and the Murphys, about Nicholson, Chesterton, Rackham, Belloc, for abstractions about war-time art and the failure of O. Henry, he threatens himself with an application of the light-quenching bushel. But to come back again to technical matters—if in these sketches parentheses are perhaps too many, quotation marks are certainly too few. One cannot escape a certain embarrassment when one sees "this here author" "beat it for the boat" all innocent of the punctuation that ordinarily garbs such slang. In fact, *Emigrating Back Home*, the sketch that contains the cream of these linguistic indiscretions, might be avoided altogether if it were not included in the same volume with so much that is pleasant. The same tie does not bind Mr. Holliday's friends to his third book—"Peeps at People" (Doran)—mentioned here in order that readers who believe that R. C. H. has always been something of a writer may escape the disillusionment incident to reading, at this late date, sketches that would better have been left wrapped in the newspapers that were their sometime swaddling clothes.

FINDING himself old at forty-three, and believing Europe to be withered into hopeless corruption, Paul Gauguin the painter left France in 1891 and gave the last twelve years of his life to the South Seas, with only occasional voyages back in the interest of "imperative family affairs." "Noa Noa" (Nicholas L. Brown), his narrative of the first two years, which were spent on Herman Melville's inexhaustibly attractive Tahiti, as now translated into English by O. F. Theis makes a delightful document for those on this side of the Atlantic who would study the processes of primitivism in modern painting. As philosopher and folklorist Gauguin is not original or impressive; what he has to say about the reality and the purity of savages no one will take very seriously, and his explication of Maori legends is most fragmentary. But his exploitation of the interior of a remote old island for the purposes of art furnishes a real piece of history. Outlines and hues absorbed him wholly, so that he painted and carved with a devotion that had seemed impossible in France. The curves of shores, the masses of trees, the oranges and violets of sand and sea, the liteness of men, the broadness of shoulders and hips in women, were fruitfully fascinating. Gauguin by no means lacked literary gifts. Like almost any Frenchman, he could tell a story with beautiful precision and ease, and a certain naïveté with which he intro-

duced violent or bizarre details was probably not unconscious. The present volume includes reproductions in black and white of ten Tahitian paintings by the author. It is too bad that they were not done in some kind of color to match the narrative.

MR. ISAAC F. MARCOSSON'S keen delight in his "Adventures in Interviewing" (Lane) is irresistible. He is fascinated by the game of interviewing: the thrill at the scent of a "prize," the swift exploitation of opportunity, the romance of success, the stirring atmosphere of timeliness. Timeliness, above all; celebrities and opinions must be exploited while public interest is hot. It is still warm as regards most of Mr. Marcosson's celebrities, but it has perceptibly cooled towards such opinions as these: that the Great War demolished secret diplomacy; or that the ever-open office door of Governor Woodrow Wilson symbolized the attitude that won for frank publicity at the Peace Conference. In the old days frank publicity was a stranger to statesmen, as to Wall Street magnates. But they have now been educated by Mr. Marcosson and others in the "ideals and ethics of legitimate exploitation," with the admirable result that "statesmen who looked with horror on personal exploitation in 1914 now regard it as an essential like meat and drink." The public, in short, is no longer uninformed; it is only misinformed. To Mr. Marcosson, his Russian experiences in 1917 seem like a chapter out of romance. They read like one, too: as, for instance, when he refers to Prince Lvov as "one of the organizers of the Zemstvos—a public spirited organization with branches in every community"—something like the Red Cross, apparently. This of the provincial assemblies, local government bodies, instituted by the Czar in 1864 when Prince Lvov was three years old. As usual, Russia is the acid test.

A PICTURE of French provincial life under the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, with the scene shifting from the quiet parlors of Abbéville to the mob-filled streets of Paris in '48, is presented in "Ni Ange ni Bête," by André Maurois (Paris: Grasset). One is reminded of "Les Dieux ont soif" by this cleverly-written historical novel, not merely because the author preserves so admirably the philosophic detachment of the greater Frenchman, but because he has used his history mainly as a background for a lesser drama in the provinces, with its lesser actors. His prime interest is in these: his hero, the ardent and romantic young revolutionary; the cynically realistic old antiquarian who serves as foil; the radicals, idealistic or venal; the aristocratic reactionary; the materialistic slow-moving provincial minds against whose inertia the tide of revolution beats in vain. We have, to be sure, glimpses of the secret societies, of the tumult in Paris, of that ineffectual angel the poet politician Lamartine, but one carries away from the novel chiefly the memory of this little provincial group, highly individualized but lifted into types by their fidelity to eternally recurrent human differences.

IF and when we ever get enough teachers to keep all the children off the streets and out of mischief, we shall want of the teachers something more than just "keeping," and something more than the three R's. But most of the teachers today available, whether actually engaged in school work or merely engaged in earning a living, are disgracefully ignorant of the structure and functions of the community in which we live, and for which, presumably, children are to be "educated." Mr. William Estabrook Chancellor's "Educational Sociology" (Century) is an appeal to the teachers to become acquainted with the fundamentals of social relationships and activities—an appeal that even the teacher in service, could she find the time, would find interesting as well as helpful. The breezy style, the vigorous language, the wealth of information, the multitude of applicable suggestions, compensate for the frequently dogmatic tone and for what will be for too many teachers and normal students new topics and new thoughts and new attitudes. Mr.

Chancellor has the advantage over most writers on sociological topics of many years of successful and effective administration, in various types of educational institutions and systems. There is constant insistence upon scientific method as against the dependence upon authorities and opinion; and there is also a faith in democracy with a corresponding insistence that public opinion be an educated one.

DR. ARTHUR JAMES TODD declares the central theme of "The Scientific Spirit and Social Work" (Macmillan) to be "the social workers' part in movements for enlarging the charter of human liberties" and the terms upon which he can "serve that cause most effectively"; and we are assured that however much the argument may seem to stray, it comes back to this topic. His purpose is to imbue the social worker with "the elements of scientific approach and scientific prevision." Mr. Todd is all for the scientific approach; his social prevision is of a simple and cheery type. He "prophesies" that labor will take an increasingly important place; that our conceptions of private property will probably change; that the government will undertake more housing, insurance, and land settlement; and that there will be more education, health, and happiness. Mr. Todd has in high degree the pedagogical habit of repeating an idea three or four times in slightly different form, so that some word or phrase may attach itself to even the tidiest note-taker. The book, like some others based on college lectures, achieves an effect of reasoning by interpellation of "then," "therefore," "it follows," and "to sum up," and contains frequent adjurations to "hard thinking," without corresponding performance. Much of the material is a trifle obvious, and at best the book has a rather far-away tinkle in the presence of the revolution.

THE "Christian Revolution" series comes quietly into being by the publication of a fine-spirited little volume entitled "Lay Religion" (Macmillan), by Henry T. Hodgkin. Its temper is more Christian than revolutionary, but its title is generally descriptive of its content. It gives us well-tested and familiar and almost incontrovertible religious ideas. It is Christianity dedogmatized. Almost the whole book is contained in the chapter headings. Just as they stand they would make an excellent series of morning sermons. The Demand for Reality, Adventure, Freedom, Fellowship, Harmony, Righteousness, Power—so they run. Each essay points out how the specific demand is met by Jesus. The book is excellent, but it is "faultily faultless." It is not only clerical religion that runs to system; there can be moral as well as theological padding. The last chapter on Love in Action is different. When a Quaker deals with that theme, he uses dynamite, and the reader knows it. Then we detect the rumbling of revolution.

CREATIVE CHEMISTRY" (Century), by Mr. Edwin E. Slosson, is delightfully written, with a real power of imagination and a very infectious enthusiasm, though its binding is that of a college text-book. Mr. Slosson deals with the modern miracles of analysis, distillation, synthesis, and the development of the electric furnace. This latter achievement gives us a range of over fourteen thousand degrees of heat, and enables us actually to produce organic compounds. "But it must be confessed that man is dreadfully clumsy about it yet. He takes a thousand horse-power engine and an electric furnace at several thousand degrees to get carbon into combination with hydrogen while the little green leaf in the sunshine does it quietly without getting hot about it. Evidently man is working as wastefully as when he used a thousand slaves to drag a stone to the pyramid or burned a house to roast a pig." Chapter after chapter is fascinating, whether it deals with Nitrogen, Synthetic Perfumes and Flavors, the Race for Rubber, Solidified Sunshine, or Fighting with Fumes. The author reveals the intimate sisterhood and the autobiography

of such by-products as attar of roses, cocaine, T. N. T., alizarin, and carbolic acid. He keeps in close touch with human nature and links his facts closely with our daily life. "The rose," he says, "would smell as sweet under another name, but it may be questioned whether it would stand being called by the perfume's real name of dimethyl-2-6-octadiene-2-6-ol-8."

THE University of Virginia Edition of the "Poems of John R. Thompson" (Scribners) is a gracious tribute to the memory of one of the most memorable of Confederate poets. Now first collected, Thompson's verses admirably exhibit the gay and friendly—not wholly unpuritanical—spirit which ruled the older literary Richmond. Here are echoes of Byron, Campbell, Southey, Béranger, Heine, Praed, Holmes, Saxe, neatly fitted to Virginian occasions. The rhymed essays, Patriotism, Virginia, and Poesy, sum up practically all that young Virginians were thinking and feeling from 1855 to 1859, and though not remarkable in themselves they serve to explain the swift uprush, the lift and lilt, the hot yet rollicking satire, the impassioned eloquence of Thompson's poems of the war, when a larger occasion taught him higher tones. His collected "Poems" will do little for his reputation that the anthologies have left undone: he will still live by his teasing *On to Richmond*, *England's Neutrality*, *Richmond's a Hard Road to Travel*, and by his moving and noble *Lee to the Rear*, *The Burial of Latañé*, *Ashby*, *General J. E. B. Stuart*, *Music in Camp*. The book was made possible by the Alfred Henry Byrd gift, and well edited by Mr. John S. Patton.

GRENVILLE KLEISER is the man who in the advertisements points his pencil fiercely at you and asks if you want to be taught how to speak and write forceful or efficient or vital English. Now he has written ten little "Pocket Guide Books to Public Speaking" (Funk & Wagnalls). The ten volumes do not contain more matter than could have been printed in one substantial octavo, but they will sell for more. Dilution pays. In this case, however, the whole is actually less than one of the parts, for in Volume I (How to Speak Without Notes) Mr. Kleiser gives a chapter of Quintilian that is worth appreciably more than all of Mr. Kleiser. His additions to it subtract from it by hiding it from the casual gaze. In the non-Quintilianian forty-nine-fiftieths of the work Mr. Kleiser analyzes the accepted oratorical classics, lists hackneyed rhetorical phrases to be studied for their fire and force, describes the right gestures and tones, and argues in every volume that the speaker's problem is merely Something to Say and How to Say It. A chief point of originality claimed by Mr. Kleiser is his discussion of Christ the Master Speaker. Christ, according to Mr. Kleiser, among other things, "probably used the middle register of his voice in ordinary speaking." Christ, it seems, is grist to Mr. Kleiser's mill.

FROM Henry Collins Brown's "Valentine's City of New York: A Guide Book" (Valentine's Manual) the inquiring stranger and the affectionate citizen in this metropolis can learn a great many things that aren't so. For instance: that Amsterdam Avenue "makes a glorious exit in the sanctity of the classic atmosphere of Columbia University and Cathedral Heights"; that the Newsboys' Lodging House was founded by J. Loring Brace; that Judge Learned Hand's name is Harned, and that Professor Simkhovitch is a professor of Greek; that Pershing Square and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine are, to judge by the pictures here given of them, a good deal nearer completion than they really are; that Blasco Ibáñez's Christian name is Vincente; that the Lafayette Players include in their répertoire a play named "Tribly"; that it was Joseph Rodman Drake who wrote *Three Cheers for the Red, White, and Blue*, as the chorus of *The American Flag*; and such items of misinformation every now and then. Let us call these mere proof-reader's slips. Still, the book has gusto. It is written in the fresh and colorful idiom of *Vanity Fair* or *Town Topics*.

Notes and News

Now comes another ardent scholar to solve the Shakespeare problem. This time it turns out that the writer of the plays was actually Edward De Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and the arguments in his favor are as good as could be made out for any literary Elizabethan. The discoverer is J. Thomas Looney (symbolic name!).

The scandal of the contemporary Anglo-American stage is the neglect of Bernard Shaw by almost all the managers. It begins to look, however, as if he might soon be forgiven for "Common Sense about the War" and treated as the great playwright of his age—that is, produced now and then. In London "Arms and the Man," "Pygmalion," and "The Dark Lady of the Sonnets" have recently been revived with good success.

Stewart and Kidd have published a book which calls for rhyme:

Solemn Lawton Mackall begs
Us to contradict the rumor
That his story "Scrambled Eggs"
Is humor.

Some may call it merely moral;
Some may call it only teaching;
But its proper purpose for all
Is preaching.

Eustace, hero, draws his breath
Heroically on each occasion;
Lives a duck and dies a death
Euthanasian;

Tries to cure the cock of flirting;
Tries to hush up all the fun
Of the barnyard without hurting
Anyone.

But he falls in love with Phyllis—
Though domestically content—
And he finds his mighty will is
Impotent;

Sadder, wiser, sweetened, warmed,
Seeks his philosophic dormer,
And henceforward plays reformed
Reformer.

Sermon? Hardly. Here the test:
Mackall puns as he goes gooding—
But this is the season's best
Pun pudding.

Drama Musical Comedies

WHATEVER else happens on our stage, the musical comedies are always with us. Hardly a month passes without the appearance of a new one, and many hold their large, predominantly masculine audiences for long periods. Comedy and music in these entertainments are usually execrable. The jests are not even coarse, but only vulgar; the wisp of story is always idiotic beyond belief. Since the days of the famous Viennese importations—"The Merry Widow," "The Chocolate Soldier"—one's musical demands upon this kind, such as melodic fertility of a popular but not inelegant sort, are quite regularly ignored. The scores are feeble, trivial, and stale. The airs reach neither the phonograph nor the hurdy-gurdy.

Even if we grant the cleverness, narrow and tricky in character, of such successful clowns as Sam Bernard and Ed Wynne, and the necessity of some audible rhythm to sustain these pieces, it is clear enough that their real power lies in their attractiveness to the eye. As the fables have disintegrated and the music become thinner and more negligible, the chorus has increased in number, the scenes in elaborateness, and the colors in splendor. More and more, too, persons from the cabarets and the variety theaters are engaged to interpolate dancing "numbers" and to snap the last pretense which either story or score had to any continuity or coherence. In a word, people go to these entertainments in search of a strong sensuous pleasure; they want visible beauty, comely forms and faces, and the vicarious exaltation of the dance.

But the Dionysian element in us is very timid and furtive. Men sincerely think they desire the protective coloring of comedy and of new music in their favorite entertainments, and critics are misled into regretting the decadence of the true operetta and the growing influence of the costumer, the scene-painter, and the dancing-master. What we have here, as a matter of fact, is the emergence of a new kind of spectacle which does indeed bear less and less relation to the light opera and in which beautiful scenes and gorgeous gowns, pretty shoulders and nimble feet are the true objects of attraction.

One may test the reality of this disintegration or development in various ways. The revival of "Florodora" at the Century Theater brings before us a musical comedy of twenty-one years ago. The fable, a foolish and conventional one to be sure, is still the structural foundation; the lyrics attempt clever versification and the sting of wit; the chief comic character, Tweedle-punch, belongs to a strong tradition of English farce. He might have been a friend of Mr. Pickwick. The composer had to his credit two airs, Under the Sheltering Palms and the famous sextette, which have clung to the memory of thousands of people of moderate fastidiousness in music for nearly a quar-

ter of a century. But the Messrs. Shubert, in reviving this piece, relied but little on its inherent merits. They have emphasized the pictorial and the sensuous side. The stage-pictures, especially in the ball-room scene, are of the utmost richness, of a radiance almost too intense. The costumes, not only in themselves, but as elements in a pictorial composition, illustrate an inventiveness and taste which are, on their own plane, truly magnificent. The members of the chorus have not all been happily chosen. But the effort after a happy and even a subtle choice is very clear. And what was sought was loveliness to the eye. One may believe that Miss Eleanor Painter was selected for her admirable voice rather than for her beauty. One knows better when one observes the dainty prettiness of Miss Margot Kelly. For she, like the majority of contemporary musical comedy stars, does not sing badly. She cannot sing at all.

A comparative austerity will, therefore—and this introduces us to another test—stand in the way of "Lassie" (The Nora Bayes Theater), even though the quaint charm of the scenes is due to so good an artist as Mr. Willy Pogany, and although Mr. Hugo Felix has written an orchestral score that has humor and moments of realism and a quite modern expressiveness, and betrays throughout the hand of a scholarly musician. What the public wants is the Egyptian dances in "As We Were" and the Ed Wynne Carnival, the fleetness and the frank and winsome gestures of Louise Groody in "The Night Boat," the riot of rhythm and color and of many-twinkling arms and feet! Life is gray in offices and apartments, the true humanities are far away and distrusted, thought is considered improper or it is proscribed. Only the very young do their own dancing. For most people dreams and dances are over. The magazines are dull and respectable and the soda-water counter cannot lift the heaviness of existence or ease the sting of care. So those whose inner resources are meager, whose senses are keen, and whose lives are rigid, haunt musical comedy neither for comedy nor music but as an anodyne for the nerves and a delight for the eye.

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By L. J. DE BEKKER "Throws much light on recent Mexican affairs which it would be well for the public in this country to consider. As a key for the interpretation of many news stories relative to Mexico now appearing in the dailies, the book is of inestimable value."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Illustrated. \$2.00 net.

For once the civilized lover of the arts may be in harmony not indeed with the hypocritical gestures, but with the strong and silent instinct of the crowd. What charming things these musical comedies could be, if only a manager had the courage to eliminate the comedy and to substitute for the dreary tinkling of the musical hack measures that would be quite as new and pleasing to an average audience and would heal the injuries of the sensitive ear! On a dim stage the pupils of Isadora Duncan dance with a divine lightness and poetry of motion to the airs of Gluck and the Viennese waltzes of Schubert. The dancers in musical comedy cannot emulate their art. But it is an error to suppose that these dancers on the popular stage or even in the best cabarets practice a wholly vulgar and despicable art. Many of them have, even in their more acrobatic moments, that power of communicating a sense of lightness, of release from the heaviness of earth, of participation in the ecstasy of bodily rhythm which is the genius of the dance. But they do that now to the accompaniment of music which is insufferably coarse and jaded and spiritless.

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Against the decorative appeal of the better musical comedies remarkably little can be urged. The scene painters and decorators have learned much from the newer craft of the theater, though they naturally prefer elaborateness and wealth to a symbolic simplicity of effect. One may point once more, however, to the ball-room scene in "Florodora," where a fine spaciousness of scene and a clean straightness of essential lines were blended with all the hues of the Orient.

And over it all, scenes, costumes, dances, there hovers a breath of pathos! These dancing girls in provocative costumes—are they not the same that danced in Babylon and Alexandria? The spangles are the same and the lithe limbs and the smiles that are a little cool and soulless. And the same also are the men who after endless generations still watch with the same eyes these dancers in whom throbs all they know of beauty or vicarious ecstasy amid the dimness of their tarnished lives.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

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Marriage and Divorce in Denmark

THE following statement of ex-Premier Zahle, summarizing the new Danish marriage law, was published in *Politiken* (Copenhagen). The Bill has recently passed the Lower House of the Danish Rigsdag, and on April 17 a similar Bill passed both chambers of the Swedish Parliament.

When the provisions of this Bill and those of the recent proposition regarding the admission of women to public office have become law—which I hope will be soon—the absolute equality of men and women in all essential points will have been established in our legislation. This is only a natural result of the fundamental law of June 5, 1915, which gave women the same rights of suffrage and of election to office as those enjoyed by men, and made women full and independent citizens of the state.

This Bill is of special weight and importance, inasmuch as it is the result of the work of a joint commission, composed of members from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. This commission began its work in 1910 and first presented an outline of a law governing the prerequisites of marriage and its dissolution, and now finally one concerning all the legal and judicial aspects of marriage. The first of these, which was submitted to the respective Governments concerned in September, 1913, became law in Sweden on November 12, 1915, and in Norway on May 31, 1918. The second part, which was submitted for consideration in the fall of 1918, is in the Swedish draft combined with the law of 1915, in one homogeneous marriage law. It is important that both parts, of 1913 and 1918, agree in all three countries, in all essential points, and in all the more prominent details. Their joint adoption means a uniform marriage code in the Scandinavian countries. I may say that by this action we have taken an important step forward toward the cultural unity of the North.

I shall now briefly review the individual provisions of the proposed Bill, which follows marriage historically, so to speak, through its various phases. It begins with the betrothal, establishes the requirements necessary for marriage, and how such requirements may be examined or provided, and determines the form of the marriage transaction. Then the rules of marriage are formulated, governing both parties; it gives the parties mutual duties of support, determines their share in the guardianship over the children, and regulates their property rights. Finally it treats of the dissolution of marriage by separation, divorce, or death.

ARTICLE I. Betrothal: Just as in our modern conception of marriage as an ethical relation there has been a constantly developing idea that persons should not be compelled to live together or be bound at any price, it is quite obvious that no person should be compelled in any way by law to marry. A person's responsibility toward another may be as grave as you please; but the judicial proceedings against him by society shall not consist of a compulsory marriage. Article I of the Bill, therefore, contains a number of regulations regarding the compensatory damages for breaking of an engagement in especially serious cases, and more particularly in cases of pregnancy, while the compulsion to marry is removed.

ARTICLE II deals with the requirements for and conditions of marriage. Most of these are provided for in laws now in force. The respective ages of man and woman shall be 21 and 18, however, instead of 20 and 16 as at present, for they cannot be

considered as having attained their necessary mental and physical maturity before that age. But, as is now the case, dispensation from these stipulations may be obtained. Persons younger than 21 must have the consent of their parents, which under the present law is required for all below the age of 25, this lowering of the age being due to the expected lowering of the age of majority to 21. Marriages between relatives in direct lineage are forbidden, as at present. While special dispensation is now required for marriage between aunt and nephew, but not for marriage of uncle and niece—an unreasonable distinction—the new Bill demands special permission in both cases. This requirement is based on certain considerations of race and hygiene, and it is presupposed that dispensation may be obtained if all conditions seem favorable. Bigamy is, of course, prohibited as before. The present official time of mourning after the decease of one party, during which the surviving party may not marry, is abolished in the new proposal as being outside the field of legislation. In its place a "biding-time" is introduced, of not more than ten months, for all women previously married, whether widows or not, inasmuch as they may be pregnant from their previous marriage. The purpose of this provision is to remove all doubt about the male parentage of the child. Perhaps this "biding-time" could be limited or wholly done away with.

With respect to physical requirements for marriage, the modern generation has devoted much serious consideration to the problem. . . . Paragraphs 10 and 11 prohibit the mentally defective and those afflicted with syphilis from marrying, yet with the possibility of obtaining dispensation. Especially severe restrictions are imposed, also, for epileptics or those with other sexual disease; the one party must acquaint the other with the character of his disease, and both parties must also receive instructions from a physician in regard to the dangers and care involved. . . .

ARTICLE III contains rules governing the publicity of the pending marriage pact. The present custom of publishing the banns in church is abolished, and the all too easy method of getting exemption by "royal dispensation" from publishing marriage intentions is much restricted.

ARTICLE IV. The form of the marriage pact or ceremony is an old familiar subject of debate in the Danish Rigsdag. I must admit at once that this is the only important point wherein I have been unable to agree with the provisions as outlined by the commission, which advocates free choice of either church or civil marriage. At present, as you know, the church ceremony predominates, since the law permits civil marriages only when the parties belong to different denominations, or to some denomination whose clergy may not legally perform such ceremony. In accordance with the standpoint which the Folketing (Lower House) has taken, I consider the obligatory civil pact by far the most successful and natural. Marriage is a civil institution and should therefore be entered into by a civil ceremony, which is the same for all. . . . I am of the opinion therefore that the civil marriage should be obligatory. Afterwards, of course, the bridal couple should be free to have their marriage blessed in church if they so choose. In the commission's suggestions of 1913, as well as in the supplements to the Bill, however, will be found all the provisions for free choice in this matter fully worked out, in case the Rigsdag prefers this form, which I hope will not be the case.

With respect to the position of the married parties there is exceptional need of reform, because of the fact that the wife's position in marriage, under the present law, is not on a par with the position woman has attained in other fields, in civil or political life. Just as she had secured complete equality with the man in the latter case, so she should be made his equal in marriage. This has been the aim of the rules contained in the Bill, particularly in Articles 5 and 7, but also in the parts following.

ARTICLE V deals chiefly with the mutual duties of support of both parties to a marriage. But this part is prefaced by a general clause which establishes in principle the equality of both parties in a marriage. The stipulations having this idea in view mean that the husband's guardianship is abolished, and he has no longer any preferential rights in the management of family affairs. He can no longer alone determine the choice of locality of home or dwelling-place. There is nothing in the paragraphs of this Bill which makes the wife subservient to the husband.

Man and wife are made equal also with respect to their support of each other and of the family, by making each one contribute to this support according to his or her respective abilities. Each one's contribution depends on ability, that is, upon earnings, but it is expressly stated in Paragraph 40 that the personal work in the home, which is generally performed by the wife, shall be a contribution to the common support just as much as money. In fact Paragraph 41 provides that the party who has no money earnings, generally the wife, has a legal right to receive for his or her own disposal whatever funds may be necessary for general household expenses and personal needs, according to current customs. This legal provision for contribution to her personal needs will compensate for the demand made by some persons that the wife be given a specific salary (or wage).

ARTICLE VI makes both parties equal in the exercise of parental control over their children; as the law now reads, the husband has the final judicial authority. The mother's part in the right to decide the fate of the children is undoubtedly the most important provision of the proposed Bill. . . . The father's preferential rights over the children have been energetically defended, however, by our highest court; and even though such a matter seldom has to be settled by legal action, the very existence of the rule has been felt by many women to be a humiliation and an infringement of their most sacred rights. It should therefore be abolished. . . . If in a particular case the parents cannot agree, the new proposal opens the way for an appeal before an impartial, disinterested authority, a provision which to be sure will have only a small practical significance so long as the parents are living, but which is necessary lest the new law create unsolvable conflicts.

ARTICLE VII deals with property regulations of married persons. The present laws in this matter are unsatisfactory to wives; therefore the new Bill proposes to grant to each party complete individual ownership over what he or she has contributed to the home at the time of marriage, or over whatever each party has later acquired by himself or herself. The new law also provides as before for proper division of common property at the time of separation, divorce, or other settlement of the common estate. The Bill introduces a new property system; but since the old conditions were misleading new ones were necessary. Conditions will now be as follows: Each party will be owner of his or her property contributed at marriage, but with the peculiar restriction that the aforesaid party shall share his reserve with the other party, so that a restriction is placed on the owner's free disposal of his property. This peculiar right of one party over the other's property is called his "marriage right" (*Gifteret*). This is the right acquired by marriage. The Bill maintains, however, the option to determine at the time of marriage whether a property shall be exempted from the "marriage right" and remain the owner's individual, unrestricted possession, as the case is now; in such a case that part of his property which is subject to the marriage right is then, in contradistinction to the other, called his "marriage property" (*Gifteje*). According to the new measure the wife herself owns her real estate, but because of the large interest there may be for both parties concerned in property on which they live and from which they derive their income, it is provided that such real estate may be sold or mortgaged only with the consent of the other. Often, also, the complaint is made that the husband

because of his right of disposal of the property sells or pawns the necessary family furniture, to the detriment of wife and children. To prevent this in the future, Paragraph 68 provides that such disposal or pawning on the part of the owner can be done only with the consent of both parties.

ARTICLE IX contains rules about marriage pacts and other agreements between married persons. I shall emphasize Paragraph 78, which recommends to married persons to agree, without formal pact, to share equally their annual savings. This recommendation is made because the savings are often due just as much to the thrift and economy of the wife as to the earning ability of the husband, who might otherwise claim the savings under the marriage right as the one who acquires. Next let me call your attention to Paragraph 81, which makes the suggestion that the wife who works in her husband's industry shall have a suitable remuneration for it. This also seems to be a just and necessary demand on the part of the wife.

It is self-evident that this right of disposal of their own property now granted to women will in no way prevent them from entrusting the care of such property to their husbands, and it is definitely provided in Paragraph 82 for such arrangements to be made. It is presupposed that they will be made frequently. But the fundamental law of the Bill removes the wife from the anomalous situation in which the law of 1899 had placed her, a situation wherein, despite the fact that she was declared "of age" and consequently enabled to enter into economic obligations, she possessed no power to enforce her rights.

ARTICLE XII contains regulations concerning separation and divorce. The rules proposed here are on the whole only another legal ratification of the essential points in our present divorce laws, based on the administrative practice now in vogue. Nevertheless the new rules may be said to contain significant improvements. Granting of the "special license" for re-marriage of a divorced person, with all the resulting abuse of the so-called "testimonials of conduct," will be abolished. Just as at present, married persons can always secure a separation when they both want it, and one party may demand separation when the other is guilty of gross negligence of duty, or is addicted to drinking or other vices. Besides that, however, opportunity is opened to each of the married persons to request separation whenever the mutual good relations of the two may be said to be destroyed, even though other circumstances might reasonably demand that the marriage be prolonged. Such a general law is unknown in the laws of today. It is based on the fundamental conception that it is morally indefensible to maintain a marriage relation by legal statute where all the real bonds between the parties are broken. This is a measure which certainly means a great step forward in the recognition of marriage as a moral relation. If separation has once been granted, divorce shall as at present be granted after a certain lapse of time. The length of this period, according to the administrative practice now in force, is two years, if both parties desire a divorce; otherwise three years. Since it does not seem necessary for the separated parties to have so long a time to think it over, the proposed Bill shortens these periods to one and two years respectively.

Furthermore the new law provides for divorce: (1) of persons who have lived apart for three years because of mutual disagreements; (2) because of wilful desertion, after two years; (3) because of disappearance, after three years. The present regulation is after three and five years, respectively, in the last two cases. Naturally divorce is granted as at present for bigamy and for unfaithfulness. But while no divorce can now be requested by persons who have both been unfaithful—although such a relation is even more ruinous—the new proposal provides for divorce in such cases, and the double unfaithfulness has significance only in determining the conditions of the divorce. Hereafter it will be considered grounds of divorce to expose one's wife or husband to venereal contagion in sexual intercourse; and after the Swedish legislative model, to attempt the life of one's mate will constitute grounds for divorce. Again,

when one party is sentenced to two years in jail (at present three years in the penitentiary are required) the innocent party shall have right to divorce. Finally divorce is granted, as now, for insanity; but while at present the law requires only that there shall be little hope of recovery, the new proposal demands that the disease shall have endured through the last three years of marriage.

ARTICLE XIV deals with undivided estates. The proposal provides that each of the persons concerned shall have the right to remain on or control an unsettled estate unless the deceased party in his testament shall have expressly provided the contrary. "Unsettled estate" in this sense means of course the combined marriage property as previously defined. According to the present law, the surviving party exercises an almost unlimited control over the estate, sometimes to the great disadvantage of the other heirs. For their protection the Bill introduces a certain very moderate control in conjunction with the surviving party and places simple, positive restrictions on his powers of disposal.

ARTICLE XVI contains a number of regulations regarding legal and judicial proceedings. I shall emphasize especially the suggestion that marriage affairs, in order to prevent scandal and gossip, be treated in court behind closed doors.

Paragraph 190 gives the married woman the same right to enter a trade or industry as is now given to the unmarried woman, the widow, the divorcee, etc. When the wife herself controls her own property, there is no ground for limiting her access to business. Thus the proposed law also places woman on the same plane of equality in the matter of earning a livelihood.

I wish to emphasize again the importance of the joint action of the Scandinavian countries, which was begun by their economic cooperation, resulting primarily from the war. It is essential that this joint action be continued by procuring justice in a relation that is perhaps the most important of all relations for the happiness of individuals and society—namely, the family. This cooperation can be continued in the future and should finally lead to very comprehensive Scandinavian marriage legislation.

Adult-Education in Soviet Russia

AT the first Pan-Russian Congress on National Education, held at Moscow in August, 1918, Mme. N. K. Ulianova (the wife of Premier Lenin) presented a paper on the subject of adult education in Russia. It has lately been published in *Narodnoe Prosvyescheine* (*Public Instruction*) and in *Avanti* (Milan), from which the following translation was made.

The war has taken millions of men out of their ordinary life and has forced them to meet abnormal conditions, in the very face of death. This has caused them to search for and to find a solution for the doubts with which their minds have been confronted and in this way a great, new need for culture has been manifested. The Revolution also, particularly that of October, created for the masses of workingmen problems of enormous importance and difficulty. The old state of things left a sad inheritance, intellectual darkness, ignorance, absolute want of all instruction. The tremendous work of reconstruction revealed to the great majority at every turn its impotence due to a want of culture. Bitter experience demonstrated to the people that to know things was to be able to accomplish them, and therefore they eagerly seek to acquire knowledge. The "sabotage of the intelligentsia" demonstrated clearly that until that time culture had been the prerogative and monopoly of the governing classes.

Thus it happens that to the new missionaries of popular education the life of the people has never presented a more fertile soil. The center of gravity in the work of the education of

adults has been changed. It is no longer a question of awakening the masses from their prolonged sleep, of creating in them new demands, but of trying to satisfy as quickly as possible the demands which have already arisen, the demands which are already mature.

And in this sense, an enormous amount of work is being done. The education of adults could not progress under an autocracy. Hundreds of rules and regulations and orders hampered and interfered with the work. The adult student was constantly subjected to vigilance from above. The authorities did their utmost to prevent a word, a thought on life from reaching the masses. Now all this has come to an end, but the work is still far from having reached its fullest expression. What has been done is but a drop in the ocean.

The entire country must be covered with a network of elementary schools for illiterate adult students or for those who can barely read or write. There must be no illiterates among the Russian Communists. No truce can be permitted in this work of education; above all, the motto must be, "Do the utmost possible in the shortest time possible!" What we must look to above all is properly to fit the instruction to the needs of the pupil. Many teachers drawn from the professional routine adopt for the adult schools the same system as that used in the children's schools and weary their students with dates, dictation, expositions of childish stories, grammatical exercises, etc., instead of immediately putting them to work on reading newspapers and pamphlets, making them copy articles and extracts in accordance with their tastes, and helping them to write short themes in which they can express their own ideas.

One of the principal tasks of the elementary school should be to instruct the pupils in the use of books as a means of acquiring knowledge. The pupil should be taught the method of using dictionaries, catalogues, encyclopedias; up to the present time, too little attention has been paid to this work, which is of the greatest importance. At the same time, the elementary school for adults must keep before the eyes of the pupil a general vision of culture as a whole.

The elementary school is a most important problem; no less important is the professional school. Up to the present time applied knowledge has only interested those who intended to go into the professions. Changed conditions have brought about the result that the more enlightened workingmen and peasants strive for applied knowledge as a fundamental need. Specially competent committees are required for the control and administration of production, for the constitution and administration of agricultural communes. The peasants and workingmen appreciate that without specialized technical knowledge, they cannot control the conditions of life. The character of this technical education, however, must not be the same as heretofore. First a professional apprenticeship must be given to prepare the workmen for a particular mechanical labor. Then special instruction must be given him which will enable him thoroughly to understand the industry in which he is to be employed and the place which that industry holds in the markets of the world. It is necessary that the workingman should know the history and the ramifications of the industry in relation to its political and economic sides; in short, it is essential that the workingman besides knowing the purely technical methods, should have a general knowledge of the conditions of the industry; this is indispensable to the workingman in order that he may become an expert producer of communal wealth, not a mere wage earner.

Finally it is essential to establish schools of a higher type, popular universities. The reforms in the high schools have opened the doors of the university to all who desire to attend. But such reforms cannot, as may readily be understood, open the higher schools to those who have received no preliminary instruction. In order to select a special branch of study, it is necessary at least to have a clear idea of the various existing branches of study, to have a general education, and to under-

stand the methods of acquiring a higher culture. The instruction given in these schools must be different from that given in the average school; it must abandon all the useless things which have filled the programs of the average schools and introduce instead all that is essential to a knowledge of the world in such form that the individual may gain a just conception of life according to his own mind. This is essential for those who wish to attend the higher schools. Up to the present time, the instruction in the higher grades has been saturated with the bourgeois spirit; on this account we must resolutely and critically pass on the curriculum, retaining that which has shown itself to be of lasting value and rejecting everything which was introduced by the dominant bourgeois spirit.

In the education of adults there must be included the organization of debates, lectures, cinematograph views, visits to museums, educational excursions, etc. Discussions, reading, and lectures must respond to the immediate subjects demanded by the masses for whom they are intended, in order that the interest of the audience may be stimulated. The subjects to be discussed must be chosen according to the grade of the public and a printed résumé should be distributed among the audience.

The cinematograph, like the school, may be either a powerful instrument of emancipation or of servitude. Under the bourgeois regime it was an efficient means of instilling bourgeois ideals and opinions in the minds of the masses. There is a cinematograph section in the Department of Public Instruction, to which has been appropriated six million rubles for the production of films which inspire a sentiment of solidarity, of internationalism, etc. The provincial cinematographs will be able to make use of these films, whereas at present they have only films of slight interest and questionable morality at their disposal.

With regard to museums, much has already been done in the matter of natural history, ethnography, and hygiene. At Moscow at the Socialist Academy a social museum has been established with a collection of diagrams artistically colored, demonstrating the problems of militarism, of capitalistic concentration, of manufactures, etc. A special commission of Communist Socialists supervises the formation of the program of the museum. The organization of libraries is no less important than the establishment of schools for adults. Much money has already been expended for this purpose; nevertheless the libraries are still poor and the readers dissatisfied. The shortage of labor and the scarcity of library material compel great economy in library personnel and in the supply of books. The field for organizing popular libraries is a vast one in every locality. A network of libraries should be formed in connection with a central library and the American system of circulating libraries should be introduced.

The technical side of these institutions has been widely discussed and the question is of great importance especially with regard to the choice of books. Often this task is entrusted to uneducated persons who have no standards and who follow the advice of the bookseller, instead of considering the interests of the library. Even where the books are chosen by the librarian, he is frequently wanting in the special encyclopedic knowledge which is necessary for the acquisition of books suitable to all branches of culture.

To assist the librarian a model catalogue would be of great service. A special commission is now at work in the Bureau of Education compiling such a catalogue, indicating the most important books in every branch of culture. In order to assist local institutions in acquiring books for libraries and schools, a special section has been established in the Department of Public Instruction. With regard to education in the fine arts, a most important branch, I can say only that in the Department of Public Instruction, special sections have been established for music, the drama, the plastic arts; and the Department of Education for adults is working in close connection with them. Each of these sections has an enormous force to carry out its program.

A few words must be added with regard to theaters for the

people. With us, in Russia, popular theaters have usually had a difficult existence and have frequently degenerated into tea-houses. But now they can develop into what they really should be—the centers of the spiritual life of the laboring classes. This is what they represent in southern Europe. In trying to fill the spiritual needs of the people, they will take the place of the existing public meeting halls or of the churches.

All these phases of the education of adults can develop and progress only if they have the direct cooperation of those classes of citizens for whom they are created. Every library must have its committee of readers, every school its committee of teachers and pupils, and so on. Then the work will live and endure.

Workingmen and peasants should not only participate in the establishment of single institutions for the education of adults, but by participating in the Soviets for Public Education should accustom themselves to consider each individual branch of education as necessary to the whole; only in this way can they attain their objective and give to the great majority of citizens of the Soviet Republic the culture to which they aspire.

The Restoration of Italian Exchange

ACCORDING to *Idea Nazionale* of February 10, the Italian Finance Minister has presented to the Chamber the following law for the restoration of Italian exchange:

Article I. Until the time designated in Article VI, the Royal Government is authorized, solely in the interest of raising Italian exchange in foreign trade, to take the following measures:

1. To make international arrangements for the betterment of the exchange, and to arrange credits abroad;
2. To regulate the importation of certain classes of goods, and in special cases to forbid import because of the origin of the goods or method of purchase;
3. To limit, or temporarily to prohibit, the sale of luxuries within the Kingdom;
4. To prohibit the export from Italy and the occupied territory of goods which cannot be proved to have been purchased at a favorable exchange;
5. To limit, and in special cases to prohibit, traffic within the Kingdom in Italian goods intended for export;
6. To establish new regulations for commerce in foreign bills, and to prohibit export of capital in any form;
7. To requisition industries whose maintenance seems necessary for the life of the country.

Article II. The Royal Government can establish principles for the supervision and limitation of consumption in general, especially of articles of general use, and of those which are imported in small quantities or which for other reasons are scarce. If use is made of this power, the Government is also free to prescribe or limit the difference between the cost of production and the cost to the consumer.

Article III. The Government may utilize private institutions and corporations for the fulfilment of the provisions of this law. Citizens are required in case of need to aid the Government in executing this measure.

Article IV. Regulations made under this law shall be proclaimed as Royal edicts and published by the Council of Ministers. Violations of the provisions shall be punished by seizure, imprisonment, and fines as shall be prescribed in further Royal edicts.

Article V. A Commission composed of three Senators elected by the Senate and six Deputies chosen by the Chamber of Deputies will approve the various measures.

Article VI. The above provisions shall be declared invalid by Royal decree whenever the exchange in the principal markets shall have maintained a normal relation to the economic position of the country for a period of two months.

The Eight Hour Day in Poland

THE following regulations concerning the application of the Polish Eight Hour Day Act of November 23, 1918, published in the Polish Ministry of Labor Journal, are reprinted from the *Economic Review of the Foreign Press* (London) for March 17.

The regulations limit working hours to eight per day (on Saturdays to six), or forty-six per week. This limitation is to apply to persons employed in manufactures, mining, commerce, communication, and transport, and in other establishments where work is performed, even if such undertakings are not carried on for profit, or if they belong to the state. In mining the legal working hours are "from bank to bank." The rules of each mine must state clearly the order in which the arrival and departure of the men shall take place. The working hours of transport workers may be regulated by a special order, and in factories belonging to the state working hours may be rearranged by the competent Minister, after he has consulted the trade organizations of employers and workers, but the total hours worked must not exceed the legal number. Overtime is permitted in the following cases:

- (a) Where extra work is necessary in order to prevent damage, or for other similar reasons;
- (b) At times of seasonal pressure or at periods of stock-taking;
- (c) In factories where continuous processes are carried on;
- (d) In cases of national necessity.

For overtime not exceeding two hours, payment is to be made at the rate of time-and-a-half; for each hour in excess of two hours and for night work (i.e., between 9 p. m. and 4 a. m.), and work on Sundays and holidays, the rate of pay is to be double. Work on Sundays is permitted only in public service, hotels, chemists' shops, etc., in theaters and the like, and in establishments carrying on continuous processes.

After every six hours of work an hour's rest is to be granted, during which the machinery is to be stopped and the worker permitted to leave his place of work. Where owing to the nature of the work that is not practicable, the worker is to be afforded an opportunity to take his meal while the machinery is running.

A temporary regulation provides that the introduction of shorter hours is not to cause a reduction of earnings where longer hours have hitherto been worked.

Non-observance of the regulations is punishable by fine up to 5,000 Polish marks, or imprisonment for three months. The regulations came into force as from February 10, 1920.

Events of the Week

APRIL 12. The completed figures of the recent French loan show that the subscriptions totaled 15,730,000,000 francs, of which 6,800,000,000 francs were new money. The total subscriptions include also 8,000,000,000 francs in National Defense bonds, more than 550,000,000 francs in National Defense obligations, and about 375,000,000 francs in French *rentes*.

A dispatch from Paris, confirming a Universal Service dispatch of April 9, states that Soviet Russia absolutely refuses to consider the proposal that a commission of the League of Nations go to Moscow to investigate the Russian Government, except on condition that a definite agreement is reached with the Allies admitting Soviet Russia to membership in the League. The French Government has been asked to secure the admission of Soviet representatives to the Inter-Allied Supreme Council's sessions at San Remo.

APRIL 13. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, has prepared the budget which he will announce April 19 in the House of Commons. The revenue needed

amounts to £1,200,000,000, and there will be a deficit to be made up of £326,000,000.

APRIL 14. News has been received at Paris headquarters of the safe arrival at Feodosia in the Crimea of the South Russian Mission of the American Red Cross, for whose safety great fears had been entertained. The Mission evacuated Novorossisk before the arrival of the Red armies, personnel and supplies being transferred to Feodosia.

In consequence of a loss in its gold reserve and an expansion in note circulation last week, the Bank of England announced that the rate of interest on Treasury bills had been raised one per cent, to 6½ per cent, which means a 7 per cent Bank rate. This advanced rate will not affect shipments of gold to America, which will continue for exchange purposes.

APRIL 15. By a majority of 65,135 out of 820,273 votes the miners of Great Britain voted to accept the Government's offer of increased wages. The men had asked for a raise of three shillings per day; the Government offered them two.

APRIL 16. The State Department has referred to the War Department the Mexican request for permission to send Mexican federal troops through the United States in order to attack the seceding State of Sonora, with the announcement that it was not an official document but had come only from army officers. The revolutionary movement began on April 2 when a proclamation stating that the purpose of the revolutionists was to "obtain a reversal of the present Constitution of the Republic so that free and definite legal elections may be had," appeared in Agua Prieta, Sonora. Governor de la Huerta was designated by the Sonora Congress "supreme power of the Republic of Sonora," and to him and General Callas, Commander-in-Chief of the new Republic, President Carranza sent an ultimatum to the effect that military measures would be taken unless the seceding state quickly returned to the national Government. In the meantime troops of the Republic of Sonora have had their first battle with federal troops on the Sonora-Sinaloa boundary and are reported to be advancing on the capital of Sinaloa. A dispatch from Mexico City dated April 17 says that the Supreme Court of Mexico now holds documents which show that the claims of the State of Sonora that the Federal Government had violated the State's sovereignty are unsound.

APRIL 17. Reports received at the State Department in Washington from Guatemala City state that President Estrada Cabrera and his army surrendered to the revolutionary Unionist forces under Carlos Herrera on April 16. The Unionists have guaranteed President Cabrera's personal safety and also the retention of all the property legally obtained by him. A new Government with Herrera as President has been announced.

According to official advices received in Washington a conference has recently taken place in Munich at which Talaat Pasha and Djemal Pasha, supporters of Mustapha Kemal in the Turkish Nationalist movement, have consulted with German Communists and emissaries of Lenin. The conference was said to have had for its object the organizing of concerted revolutionary movements in Turkey, India, Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere. It is also reported that Moslem delegates from India, Persia, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, and Egypt have participated in a conference of a similar nature with Lenin in Moscow.

APRIL 18. The London *Times* claims to have learned definitely of the resignation of Viscount French as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There is no official confirmation of this, but rumors of some such event have been persistent recently. The *Times* also points out that the Irish Roman Catholic bishops are on their way to Rome, having been summoned there for consultation with the Curia on Irish affairs, presumably the Home Rule bill.

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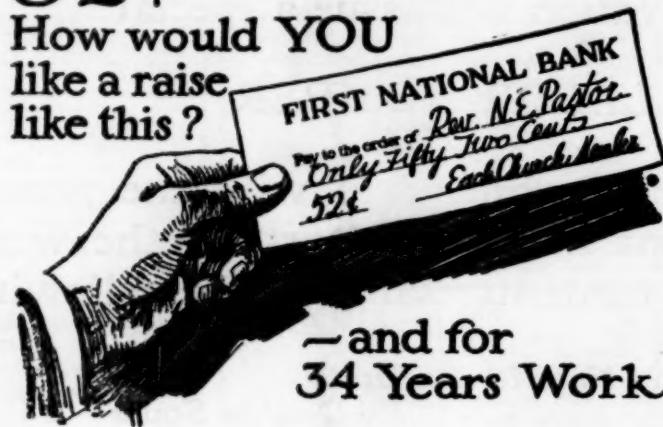
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